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Prolegomena to a Critical Edition of the  
Chronicle of Matthew of Edessa, with a  
Discussion of Computer-Aided Methods  
Used to Edit the Text

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Submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Tara L Andrews  
Linacre College, University of Oxford

Hilary term 2009

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## **Abstract**

The Chronicle of Matthew of Edessa is the primary Armenian-language historical source for the eleventh and early twelfth centuries. Matthew was a monk who lived in the ethnically mixed city of Edessa; within his Chronicle, he describes the apogee of independent Armenia, its fall to piecemeal Byzantine annexation, the subsequent loss of Byzantium's eastern territory to the newcomer Saljuq Turks, and the sectarian tension that accompanied the First Crusade. This thesis sets out the methodology adopted for the construction of a critical edition of the text, addresses the approach that Matthew took to the composition of the Chronicle, and gives the edited text of the prophecies attributed to Yovhannēs Kozērn and the author's prologues to Books Two and Three of the Chronicle.

Chapters 2 and 3 comprise a review of the scholarship to date on the Chronicle, and a discussion of the approach taken to a critical edition of the text. The Chronicle survives in a large number of relatively recently copied manuscripts; it was therefore necessary to devise an approach to text collation and editing that takes full advantage of recent advances in computational methods of philology. I have developed a set of software tools to assist in the task of editing the Chronicle; these tools are useful for the creation of text editions in any language that can be represented through the TEI XML standard.

Chapters 4–8 give an examination of the overall framework of Matthew's Chronicle, and of his interpretation of recent history within that framework. Following a long tradition of the use of prophecy to explain Armenian history, Matthew uses two prophecies attributed to the eleventh-century clerical scholar Yovhannēs Kozērn, themselves extended in the twelfth century under the influence of the Apocalypse attributed to Methodius, to frame his argument that both the Byzantine emperors and the Armenian kings had abandoned their responsibility toward the Armenian people. His attitude toward recent history, and particularly toward the Latins of Outremer, may be used to demonstrate that he wrote the Chronicle no later than 1137.

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# Chapter 1

## Introduction

The Chronicle of Matthew of Edessa (Matt'ēos Urhayec'i) was completed during the decade between 1130 and 1140. Edessa was at that time a majority-Christian city, populated primarily by Syrians and Armenians. Until the Crusades swept into the area thirty years previously, it had been ruled by an Armenian, T'oros, who was compelled to perform a delicate balancing act between Edessa's powerful neighbours, the Byzantines to the north and the Turkish emirs to the south. As the Crusading knights marched toward Jerusalem in 1097, one of their number, Baldwin of Boulogne, had taken advantage of Edessene antipathy toward T'oros to become the ruler of Edessa in his own right, and had consolidated his position to establish the first of the Crusader states in the East. Initially, the Armenians welcomed the Franks as 'liberators' from their Greek or Turkish suzerains, but they quickly grew disillusioned as they observed the Latin nobles acting for Latin interests, rather than the interests of the city's natives. The emperor in Constantinople, who considered the nearby principality of Antioch to be an imperial possession that

had been effectively stolen by its Crusader prince, contested Latin rule in the region; the Turks never ceased their attempts to take Edessa and its surrounding territory. It is against this turbulent background that Matthew came to write his history.

## **A new interpretation, and a new edition**

The Chronicle is thus the primary eyewitness account, from an eastern Christian perspective, of the First Crusade. It is also the main source for Armenian history after the end of the eleventh-century *History* of Aristakēs of Lastivert, and the information therein serves as corroboration for Aristakēs' history and, to a lesser extent, the tenth-century *Universal History* of Step'anos Asotik. Together with these two other Armenian sources, the Chronicle performs a similar role for Byzantine historians of the tenth and eleventh centuries as it does for Crusader historians of the early twelfth—an account of events written from the perspective of a Christian outsider.

Despite its clear importance, it has been impossible to date for modern historians to make full and reliable use of the Chronicle. No in-depth scholarship of the text has been undertaken, primarily because no critical edition exists. The lack of such an edition is unfortunate, but not altogether surprising. The text is long—approximately 80,000 words. There are at least 35 surviving manuscripts dispersed across at least nine cities in Europe and the Middle East; this impedes the straightforward comparison of texts. Finally, the complexity of the manuscript tradition has made text criticism a difficult task in this case; no known manuscript is more than 420 years old, almost none of the manuscripts

include explicit identification of their exemplars, and many of the manuscripts give no clues whatsoever concerning their provenance. The challenges of this text therefore require all the assistance that recent progress in technological approaches in textual criticism can afford.

A full critical edition of the Chronicle is beyond the scope of this thesis. The aim has instead been to begin the work—to assess the manuscript tradition, to examine as many of the manuscripts as possible, to set up the methodological framework within which the text can be efficiently edited, and to test this framework by editing four specific excerpts. These excerpts were chosen for their importance in understanding the Chronicle as a whole, and include the two prophecies attributed to Yovhannēs Kozēr<sup>1</sup> and the two prologues that Matthew placed between the three books.<sup>2</sup> Once these excerpts have been edited, they can be used as a firm footing upon which to construct an understanding of the structure of the Chronicle. The prophecies give the outline of recent history that Matthew attempted to write; the prologues contain the statements of authorial intent that inform the reader, in Matthew’s own words, why he wrote the work he did. This study of the structure of the text, resting on the beginnings of a critical edition, will itself become the prolegomena to an eventual full edition of the Chronicle.

Chapter 2 presents a history of the scholarship that has so far been done on the text and an overview of the thirty-five extant manuscripts of the Chronicle. Chapter 3 sets out the methodology I have adopted to cope with the large volume of witnesses to the text. There exists a large corpus of work in the

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<sup>1</sup>These are the entries for the years 478 (1029/30) and 485 (1036/7) respectively, pp. 52–5 and 66–74 of the 1898 Valaršapat edition of the text.

<sup>2</sup>These correspond to pp. 112–14 and 277–82 of the 1898 text.

realm of digital textual scholarship, but the available tools have not been well-integrated, and some tools that were once state-of-the-art have been allowed to fall into obsolescence. I have therefore found it necessary to devise my own methods for transcription of the available manuscripts, and to create my own suite of text editing tools, Encritic, to assist with the collation and the review of variant readings found among the different texts. The data thus gathered on collation and criticism can in turn be used to derive a probable stemma from the available set of manuscripts, which will in turn ease the task of editing the remainder of the text of the Chronicle. The end result of this methodology—the edited text of the chosen excerpts—are presented in Appendix A.

With a reliable text for the prophecies and the prologues in hand, we may turn to the long-neglected question of literary interpretation of the Chronicle as a whole. This study of the structure and aim of the Chronicle comprises chapters 4–8. The Chronicle was written as an illustration of the fulfilment of the second prophecy attributed to Yovhannēs Kozern, which is itself an adaptation of the Apocalypse attributed to Methodius, a Syriac text of the late seventh century that came to have a wide circulation in a variety of languages, including Greek, Latin, and Armenian. Within the Chronicle, as is shown in chapter 5, Matthew sets out the fortunes of the Armenians as they declined from the apogee of the independent kingdoms of the tenth and early eleventh centuries, and shows how those fortunes were beginning to recover by the decade of the 1130s in which he wrote.

Although Matthew conceived of the prophecy as a guide specifically to the fortunes of the Armenian people, he did not portray them in isolation. Chapters 6 and 7 concern the portrayal of the outside powers that had the greatest

influence over the Armenians during this period—the Byzantine Empire, the Muslim emirates under the Abbasid and Fatimid caliphates, and the Latin princes of the First Crusade. The treatment of each of these groups reflects Matthew’s perspective as an Armenian Edessene, and that perspective has serious implications for the chronological and factual accuracy of Matthew’s information, and consequently for the manner in which historians of each of these powers must approach the Chronicle.

The institution through which Matthew and his Chronicle must ultimately be understood is that of the Armenian church to which he belonged. Matthew was a member of a large and active clerical community whose network stretched from Egypt to Georgia; his opinions, sources, and influence must all be understood from within this institution, and cannot be reduced to the simplistic assertion that he was ‘violently anti-Chalcedonian’. Chapter 8 describes the peculiarities of Matthew’s perspective on events pertaining to the Armenian church, and uses the features of this perspective to conclude that the Chronicle was, in all probability, written before the campaign of the Byzantine emperor John Komnenos in Antioch and Cilicia in 1137.

## Chapter 2

# The history of the Chronicle

Matthew wrote his historical work in the form of a chronicle. For those scholars approaching Matthew's work from the perspective of Byzantine historiography, divided as it traditionally is between 'classicising, literary' history written by highly educated and 'world chronicles' written by less well-educated clerics who sought to put events into a Biblical framework,<sup>1</sup> the annalistic format of the Chronicle may give rise to the belief that similar assumptions should be made about its author and its purpose. This surface analysis is reinforced to some extent by Matthew's own words. He denies any claim to scholarly erudition, and writes in the non-scholarly language with which he is familiar.<sup>2</sup> The influence of Greek literature and culture upon Armenian literature was

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<sup>1</sup>J. Ljubarskij, 'New Trends in the Study of Byzantine Historiography', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 47 (1993): 131–38 at 133.

<sup>2</sup>The difference between medieval and classicising Armenian is not as pronounced as it is in other languages such as Greek, but Matthew's prose has a decidedly non-classical character nonetheless.



profound, as is evident from the increasingly pro-Western trend in the received literary tradition<sup>3</sup> as well as Armenian figures such as Grigor Magistros.<sup>4</sup>

It would be misleading and dangerous, however, to place the Chronicle into this paradigm of Byzantine historiography, although it has often been done. A good example is Dowsett's dismissal of chronicles from his survey of Armenian historiography.<sup>5</sup> Thomson draws the same distinction between 'literary' histories and chronicles;<sup>6</sup> although he acknowledges that the difference is not clear-cut, the categorisation serves to re-inforce the impression of a Byzantine-style divide. The arrangement of historical narrative in a chronological format has other precedents within the Armenian tradition; the early eleventh-century history of Step'anos Asoġik (Stephen of Tarōn) is an example of such a history, written by an undeniably educated clerical scholar.<sup>7</sup> Furthermore, the concept of a 'classicizing' history has very little basis in the Armenian tradition; the concept of a chronicle as a 'second-class' history cannot therefore hold. Matthew's strictly annalistic format is the first surviving example of the style in Armenian historiography, but his model appears to have been the lost chronicle of Yakob

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<sup>3</sup>N. Garsoïan, 'Reality and Myth in Armenian History', in *The East and the Meaning of History: International Conference (23–27 November 1992)* (Rome: Bardi, 1994), 117–45 at 136–43.

<sup>4</sup>A. K. Sanjian, 'Grigor Magistros: an Armenian Hellenist', in *To Ellēnikon: Studies in Honor of Speros Vryonis, Jr.*, ed. J. S. Allen, J. S. Langdon, and S. Vryonis (New Rochelle, NY: Aristide D. Caratzas, 1993), 131–58.

<sup>5</sup>C. J. F. Dowsett, 'Armenian Historiography', chap. 22, in *Historians of the Middle East*, ed. B. Lewis and P. J. M. Holt (London: Oxford University Press, 1962), 259–68 at 261.

<sup>6</sup>R. W. Thomson, 'The Concept of 'History' in Medieval Armenian Historians', in *Eastern Approaches to Byzantium: Papers from the Thirty-third Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, University of Warwick, Coventry, March 1999*, ed. A. Eastmond (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001), 89–99 at 93–4.

<sup>7</sup>For a summary of what has been known or surmised about the life of Asoġik, see the introduction to the French translation: Asoġik, Step'anos (of Tarōn), *Histoire universelle*, trans. F. Macler (Paris: Éditions de Byzantion, 1917), ciii–cviii.

Sanahnec'i,<sup>8</sup> who was himself a well-educated clerical scholar of the eleventh century. More than a simple under-estimation of the author's level of education, however, the key danger of this dichotomy may be seen in the extent to which Matthew's Chronicle has been disregarded as a work of literature. As we will see, a literary interpretation is the key to understanding the Chronicle, and to judging its reliability throughout.

Matthew's purpose in writing, he tells his reader, is to leave 'this record for those who love chronicles, so that when they enter into an examination of past times, they will easily be able to find the times and the epochs, and they might learn of the fulfillment of wrath over the eras, and having pondered that, they might remember the severe holy wrath which we received in return for our sins from the righteous judge God'<sup>9</sup> The text has been divided by editors into three books on the basis of Matthew's autobiographical interludes, covering progressively more events over progressively shorter time periods. The first book, which covers the years between 401 and 500 of the Armenian era (952–1052), begins without preamble. The second book covers the years 502 to 550 of the Armenian era (1053–1102). It begins with a short explanation of Matthew's motivations, and the methods he has so far employed in composing the Chronicle. The third book covers the years 550 to 577 of the Armenian era (1101–29). It is prefaced with a longer explanation which gives the majority of the information we have about Matthew himself, and the history he wished to write.

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<sup>8</sup>For a discussion of the chronicle of Sanahnec'i, including his links to Matthew, see L. Xaç'ikyan, 'Yakob Sanahnec'i žamanakagir XI dari', *Banber Erevani Hamalsarani* 13/1 (1971): 22–47.

<sup>9</sup>See translation below, p. 300.

The only biographical information that exists about Matthew is given in these short introductory passages. He was a monk, the superior of a monastery in Edessa, and was not a *vardapet*. He set out to chronicle one hundred and eighty years, but put the work aside for a time before beginning to write the history of the final thirty years. In the preface to his second book, he explained that he had been working on the project for eight years; in the preface to his third book, that number has jumped to fifteen.<sup>10</sup> He did not complete the work that he intended; his last chronicle entry is for the Armenian year 577 (1128/9), three years short of his goal.

The preface to Book Two states that Matthew had, after working for eight years, written about 100 years of history and had 80 more to write. This suggests that he was writing during or after the Armenian year 580 (1131/2):

Now indeed up to this point, through fatiguing and laborious examination, we have found out and written this historical work about [the events of] 100 years [...] So indeed I had this intention, and for eight years I was engaged in unceasing research, and I was eager to put all this in writing as witness and as a document, so that all these eras might not perish in evil bitterness and be forgotten. [...] We have that and even more to say to you of 80 years about the labour of Matt'ēos Urhayec'i, the elder of a monastery.

In the preface to Book Three he implies that seven years have passed since his work on Books One and Two:

Indeed no one is able to do this thing that we did, for what we wrote is written, because for 15 years we have been engaged in this work of research. Having read written works, we found the dates of the

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<sup>10</sup>For one proposed solution to the question of the dates during which Matthew wrote, see N. Połarean, *Hay Grotner (5–15 tar)* (Jerusalem: Tparan Srboc' Yakobeanc', 1971), 218. Połarean's arithmetic led him to conclude, based on the dates and timespans given in these prologues, that Matthew composed Book One between 1102–10, Book Two between 1110–25, and Book Three during the 1130s, possibly 1136.

eras in colophons of books, and having entered into research with old men we have engaged ceaselessly in research, and when we had collected these things we wrote them in this book.

Since he did not finish writing about the 30-year period to the Armenian year 580, it is likely that he died not long after writing the preface to Book Three. According to his own testimony, this could not have been earlier than 1137; as will be seen below in chapter 8, his attitudes toward ecclesiastical matters and the lack of any reference to the consequences of the campaign of John II Komnenos in Cilicia or the rise of Zengi suggests that 1137 or 1138 must also serve as the *terminus ante quem* for Matthew's authorship.

The Chronicle was continued by a priest named Grigor, who lived in the nearby town of Kesun. Grigor did not continue the narrative precisely where Matthew left off; his relatively short text begins eight years after Matthew's text ends, in the year 585 (1136). Grigor's continuation shifts the primary focus of events from Edessa to Kesun. Much of the text is taken up with a funerary oration by Barseł, the katholikos of Ani, composed for the Crusader lord of Kesun in 1146. Grigor's style of arrangement is not as methodical as Matthew's—although he retains the world-chronicle style and notes the year at the beginning of most of his passages, those passages are not necessarily in chronological order. The continuation extends the original chronicle up to the year 611 (1162/3). There is no explicit indication in Grigor's text of his relationship to Matthew, the circumstances of his acquisition of the text, his purpose in writing the continuation, or the dates during which he writes.

## Prior scholarship on the Chronicle

Modern scholarship on the Chronicle almost invariably treats Matthew's text and Grigor's as a single unit. The first printed publication of the combined text was not in its own language. In 1850, Edouard Dulaurier published a partial French translation of the portion of the Chronicle that describes the arrival and the activities of the Crusaders in the East. In his introduction to this text, Dulaurier explains that he is not the first to translate Matthew's work:

Part of this piece, which goes up to the year 560 of the Armenian era (1111 A.D.) has already been translated by M. Cirbied, professor of Armenian at the special School of living Oriental languages. But this version was based on a manuscript at the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris, transcribed in a quite recent era, by a scribe in a difficult and ignorant hand, which has disfigured the text with errors so numerous and omissions so frequent that his copy is often unintelligible. I have no need to say that the work of M. Cirbied reflects the imperfection of the sole manuscript that he had in his hands. Moreover, this scholar was wrong to eliminate from his translation the mention of many religious facts that are essential to the history of the Crusades, and some celestial or natural phenomena, explained by Matthew with the spirit of naive and superstitious faith that illustrate so well the century in which he lived.<sup>11</sup>

For his own translation, Dulaurier used a manuscript provided for him by the Mekhitarist Fathers of San Lazzaro in Venice.<sup>12</sup> This copy, covering the years 545 to 611 in the Armenian era (1096–1162), was based on four exemplars held in the Venice library, and the copyist noted the variants he encountered in the source manuscripts.

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<sup>11</sup>*Récit de la première croisade: extr. de la Chronique de Matthieu d'Édesse*, trans. E. Dulaurier (Paris, 1850), viii.

<sup>12</sup>This was Venice manuscript 2279/986, still held by the Mekhitarist Library there.

In 1858, Dulaurier published a translation of the entire Chronicle. He based his translation upon the two manuscripts held by the Bibliothèque Nationale—the text used by Cirbied and another one, whose text runs only to the Armenian year 530, but which Dulaurier considered to be a better quality manuscript—along with the partial copy he had obtained from Venice. This was the only published version of the Chronicle, in any language, for 11 years; it was the only Western-language translation available until 1991.

The publication of the text in its original language soon followed. In 1869, an Armenian edition of the full Chronicle was published, based upon two or three manuscripts<sup>13</sup> held by the library of the Armenian Patriarchate in Jerusalem, and upon Dulaurier's translation at times. This 1869 edition was itself consulted for the preparation of the edition that stands today: the 1898 Vałaršapat edition, published by Mambrē Mēlik'-Adamean and Nersēs Tēr Mik'ayēlean. The editors consulted six manuscripts as well as the Jerusalem text; all six of these manuscripts are now held in the Matenadaran, the Mashtots Institute of Ancient Manuscripts in Yerevan.

Since 1898, there have been two further translations of the Chronicle. A Turkish translation was published in 1962<sup>14</sup> and an English translation in 1991.<sup>15</sup> Neither of these ventures deeply into scholarship of the text itself.

There has been no in-depth study of the text beyond the editions and translations described above, despite its wide use in historical works on the Crusades and on Byzantium, Armenia, and the Near East during the eleventh

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<sup>13</sup>See below, p. 17.

<sup>14</sup>*Urfalı Mateos vekayi-nâmesi, 952–1136 ve Papaz Grigor'un zeyli, 1136–1162*, vol. 2, trans. H. D. Andreasyan (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1962).

<sup>15</sup>A. E. Dostourian, *Armenia and the Crusades: The Chronicle of Matthew of Edessa* (Belmont, MA: University Press of America, 1993).

and twelfth centuries. As a result, some misapprehensions about the text and its author have persisted to the present day. The nineteenth-century editors of the Chronicle made a surprising mistake concerning the division of the text into 'original' and 'continuation'; this mistake is a good example of the scale of error that has so far not been rectified by the scholarship. In his first translation of 1858, Dulaurier assigns the chronicle entry for the year 585 (1136) to the third book of Matthew's Chronicle, rather than to the continuation by Grigor. He does not explain his rationale for doing so, and it is a strange decision for a number of reasons. There is an eight year gap between Matthew's last chronicle entry and this one. The focus of the entry for 585 shifts to Kesun, which is thereafter referred to as 'our city'. In his prefaces, Matthew never indicated an intention to extend his Chronicle beyond the year 580 (1131/2). In the face of this evidence, and in the absence of any rationale for his decision, one must assume that Dulaurier simply chose to believe that the text was Matthew's up to the point at which Grigor identified himself. All the subsequent editors and translators of the Chronicle have accepted this mis-assignment, despite several contradicting annotations on manuscripts.<sup>16</sup> The assignment of the 585 entry has nonetheless persistently rested with Matthew; this has only recently been questioned by A. A. Bozoyan and T. W. Greenwood.<sup>17</sup>

It has been observed that Armenian historians of this period have been well-studied for their factual treatment of events, but almost no attempt has been

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<sup>16</sup>Of those I have so far examined, Matenadaran manuscripts 1767 and 1896, as well as Oxford manuscript MS Arm e.32, mark the 585 entry as the work of Grigor.

<sup>17</sup>T. Greenwood, 'Armenian Sources', in *Byzantines and Crusaders in Non-Greek Sources, 1025–1204*, ed. M. Whitby (London: British Academy, 2007), 221–52 at 234; A. Bozoyan, *Byuzandiayi arevelyan k'atak'akanut 'yunē ev Kilikyan Hayastanē ŽB dari 30–70-akan t'vakannerin* (Yerevan: Haykakan SSR Gitut'iunneri Akademiayi Hratarakč'ut'yun, 1988), 27–9.

made to approach their works from a conceptual or socio-political perspective.<sup>18</sup> Such treatment of Matthew and his Chronicle has occurred only rarely, and briefly. Robert Thomson has addressed the Chronicle on multiple occasions, in a wider look at the approaches of Armenian historians in general,<sup>19</sup> but it is omitted entirely from some other surveys of medieval Armenian literature.<sup>20</sup> The more comprehensive survey of Srbouhi Hairapetian, published in 1995, describes the Chronicle thus:

After the twelfth century Armenian historiography lost its artistic character and became a dry chronological record. The artistic flair, which infused Armenian historiography with its lyricism, constructed its models, characters, and actions, manifesting itself in works of literary value, gradually gave way to chronicles and annals devoid of their former literary merit. Such was the *Chronicle* of the historian Matthew of Edessa, covering the events from 952 to 1136.<sup>21</sup>

Although his 1988 survey of Armenian literature is considered ‘more a labor of love than of scholarship’,<sup>22</sup> James Etmekjian is the only surveyor of Armenian literature to regard Matthew at all sympathetically:

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<sup>18</sup>V. A. Arutjunova-Fidanjan, ‘L’image de l’empire byzantin dans l’historiographie arménienne médiévale (Xe–XIe s.)’, in *L’Arménie et Byzance: histoire et culture* (Paris: Centre de recherches d’histoire et de civilisation byzantines, 1996), 7–17 at 8.

<sup>19</sup>Thomson, ‘Concept of History’; R. W. Thomson, ‘Aristakes of Lastivert and Armenian Reactions to Invasion’, in *Armenian Karin/Erzurum*, ed. R. G. Hovannisian (Costa Mesa, CA: Mazda Publishers, 2003), 73–88; R. W. Thomson, ‘Christian Perception of History—the Armenian Perspective’, chap. 2, in *Redefining Christian Identity: Cultural Interaction in the Middle East since the Rise of Islam*, ed. J. J. van Ginkel, H. L. Murre-van den Berg, and T. M. van Lint (Leuven: Peeters, 2005), 35–44, among others.

<sup>20</sup>e.g. Dowsett, ‘Armenian Historiography’; P. Cowe, ‘Medieval Armenian Literary and Cultural Trends’, in *The Armenian People from Ancient to Modern Times*, vol. 1, ed. R. G. Hovannisian (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 2004), 293–326.

<sup>21</sup>S. P. Hayrapetian, *A History of Armenian Literature: From Ancient Times to the Nineteenth Century* (Delmar, NY: Caravan Books, 1995), 231.

<sup>22</sup>J. R. Russell, ‘James Etmekjian, ‘History of Armenian Literature’’, Book review, *Journal of the Society for Armenian Studies* 5 (1990/1991): 221–3.



Urhayec'i's poetic spirit did not have the assistance of a poetic pen. His few picturesque descriptions are little flashes that succeed only in making the reader more conscious of that fact. His simple, everyday vernacular, as he recounts tragedies and misfortunes communicates the author's feeling, but falling far short of creating aesthetic pleasure, underscores his literary mediocrity.<sup>23</sup>

Whatever the relative merits of these surveys, the verdict appears unanimous. Matthew's prose lacks artistic merit; his description of events do not create aesthetic pleasure. This perceived handicap has helped to prevent scholarship of the text. The very description of the Chronicle as a 'dry chronological record' presupposes that its author had no higher purpose, and has helped to create a dangerous impression of Matthew's 'impartiality':

His work undoubtedly provides us with an important counterweight to both the Latin and Arabic authors, and therefore in some ways he can be regarded as an impartial source for Antiochene history.<sup>24</sup>

Without an understanding of the Chronicle as a work of literature, it is far from clear whether he can. It is this problem that shall be addressed in chapters 4–8.

## The manuscript tradition of the Chronicle

From the question of the content of Matthew's text, let us now turn to its transmission. There are forty-two manuscripts of the Chronicle known and listed in the manuscript catalogues available in the Bodleian Library of Oxford,

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<sup>23</sup>J. Etmekjian, *History of Armenian Literature: Fifth to Thirteenth Centuries* (New York: St. Vartan Press, 1985), 350.

<sup>24</sup>T. S. Asbridge, *The Creation of the Principality of Antioch, 1098–1130* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2000), 12.

the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, and the British Library in London. Five of these, including the oldest known specimen, are only fragmentary. The earliest known text of the full Chronicle is manuscript 1176/887<sup>25</sup> of the Mekhitarist library in Venice, which was copied sometime between 1590 and 1600. All of the remaining manuscripts were copied in the seventeenth century or later. Nearly half of them are held in the Matenadaran, the Mesrop Maštoc<sup>6</sup> Institute of Ancient Manuscripts in Yerevan;<sup>26</sup> others may be found in Oxford,<sup>27</sup> London,<sup>28</sup> Paris,<sup>29</sup> Venice,<sup>30</sup> Vienna,<sup>31</sup> Munich,<sup>32</sup> Rome,<sup>33</sup> Lebanon,<sup>34</sup> and Jerusalem.<sup>35</sup> (See page 308 for a complete list.) Shown in figure 2.1 is a graph that illustrates the

<sup>25</sup>All manuscripts held by the Mekhitarist Library of Venice are given with their shelf numbers and catalogue numbers.

<sup>26</sup>O. Eganyan, A. Zeytunyan, and P. P. Antapyan, *C<sup>6</sup>uc<sup>6</sup>ak jeragrac Maštoc<sup>6</sup>i anuan Matenadaran*, vol. 1 (Yerevan: Haykakan SSR Gitut<sup>6</sup>iunneri Akademiayi Hratarakč<sup>6</sup>ut<sup>6</sup>yun, 1965), for manuscripts 1–5000; O. Eganyan, A. Zeytunyan, and P. P. Antapyan, *C<sup>6</sup>uc<sup>6</sup>ak jeragrac Maštoc<sup>6</sup>i anuan Matenadaran*, vol. 2 (Yerevan: Haykakan SSR Gitut<sup>6</sup>iunneri Akademiayi Hratarakč<sup>6</sup>ut<sup>6</sup>yun, 1970), for manuscripts 5001 and up.

<sup>27</sup>S. Baronian and F. C. Conybeare, *Catalogue of the Armenian Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1918).

<sup>28</sup>F. C. Conybeare, *A Catalogue of Armenian Manuscripts in the British Museum* (London: The British Museum, 1913).

<sup>29</sup>R. H. Kévorkian and A. Ter-Stépanian, *Manuscrits arméniens de la Bibliothèque nationale de France* (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale de France / Fondation Calouste Gulbenkian, 1998).

<sup>30</sup>S. Čemčemean, *Mayr C<sup>6</sup>uc<sup>6</sup>ak Hayerēn Jeṛagrac<sup>6</sup> Matenadaranin Mxit<sup>6</sup>areanc<sup>6</sup> i Venetik*, vol. 6 (Venice: S. Łazar, 1996), for manuscripts 872–1205.

<sup>31</sup>J. Dashian, *Katalog der armenischen Handschriften in der K. K. Hofbibliothek zu Wien*, vol. 1 (Vienna: Mechitaristen-Buchdruckerei, 1891), for manuscripts 1–573; H. Oskian, *Katalog der armenischen Handschriften in der Mechitharisten-Bibliothek zu Wien*, vol. 2 (Vienna: Mechitaristen-Buchdruckerei, 1963), for manuscripts 574–1304.

<sup>32</sup>G. Kalemkiar, *Catalog der armenischen Handschriften in der K. Hof- und Staatsbibliothek zu München* (Vienna: Mechitaristen-Buchdruckerei, 1892).

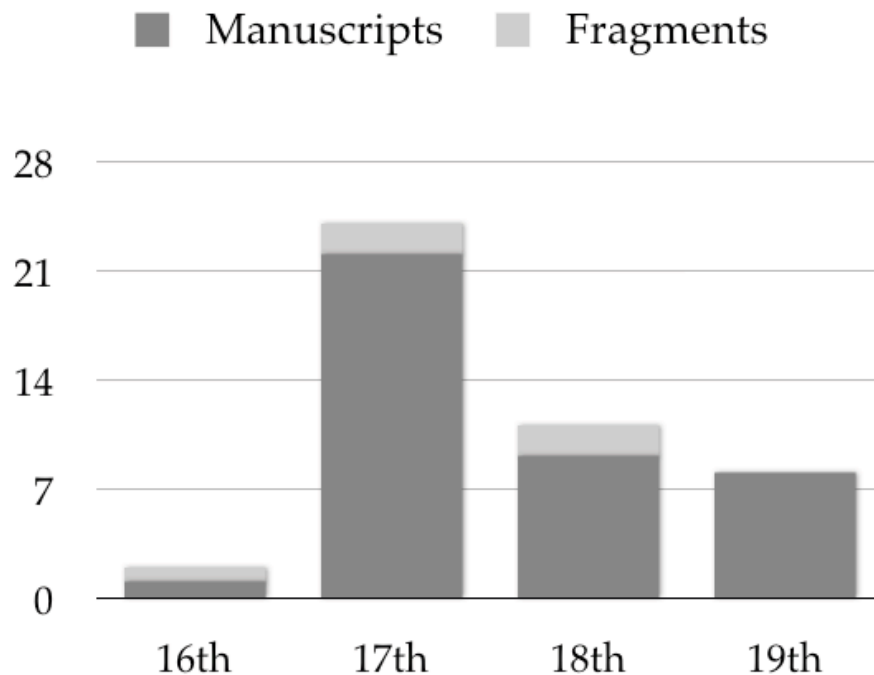
<sup>33</sup>N. Akinian, *Katalog der armenischen Handschriften des armenischen Hospitals zu S. Blasius in Rom und des Pont. Leoniano Collegio armeno, Roma* (Vienna: Mechitaristen-Buchdruckerei, 1961).

<sup>34</sup>N. Akinian and H. Oskian, *Katalog der armenischen Handschriften in der Bibliothek des Klosters Bzommar* (Vienna: Mechitaristen-Buchdruckerei / Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, 1964).

<sup>35</sup>N. Połarean, *Mayr c<sup>6</sup>uc<sup>6</sup>ak jeṛagrac<sup>6</sup> srhoc<sup>6</sup> Yakobeanc<sup>6</sup>*, vol. 4 (Jerusalem: Tparan Srboc<sup>6</sup> Yakobeanc<sup>6</sup>, 1969), for manuscripts 1001–1365; N. Połarean, *Mayr c<sup>6</sup>uc<sup>6</sup>ak hayerēn jeṛagrac<sup>6</sup> srhoc<sup>6</sup> Yakobeanc<sup>6</sup>*, vol. 11 (Jerusalem: Tparan Srboc<sup>6</sup> Yakobeanc<sup>6</sup>, 1991), for manuscripts 3601 and up.

frequency with which the Chronicle was copied, based on the specimens we have.

Figure 2.1: Distribution of extant manuscripts of the Chronicle



The two published editions therefore represent only a few versions of the surviving text. The Jerusalem edition was based on those few manuscripts available there, as the editors describe in their preface:

Two specimens were consulted in the publication of this edition. The first is number 1107, old boloragir on common paper and without a date; the second is number 1051, notragir, undatable and with the same type of paper...Both of them begin with the history of St. Nerses the Parthian by Mesrop the Priest; and the chapter division numbering has joined the two together. The funereal oration of Barseł Vardapet was found in only one of the specimens, and contained multiple errors in meaning and in expression, as did the entirety of both specimens; consequently in various places we

have improved upon obscure and difficult phrases and meanings in the French translation, and have included a comment to note this where appropriate, and in some places we have enclosed words in parentheses which were required for elucidation of understanding.<sup>36</sup>

The descriptions given in this preface are in harmony with those given by N. Połarean in the Jerusalem manuscript catalogues, although Połarean has dated manuscript 1107 to the seventeenth century.<sup>37</sup> A third manuscript reached the editors during the publication of the third book of the Chronicle, which is described as ‘notragir, on common paper and with careless handwriting... from Amida.’ They hoped to incorporate its text into their version of the continuation by Grigor, and in particular into the funereal oration of Barseł Vardapet, but it cannot be confirmed that they did so. This description corresponds to Połarean’s description of Jerusalem manuscript 3651, although he gives no indication of its provenance.<sup>38</sup>

For the Vałaršapat edition of 1898, the editors had many more manuscripts at their disposal than those in Jerusalem. Their discovery of the ‘missing’ passages in Matenadaran 1896 convinced them to use this text as their base; they believed it to have been copied from the original, or from a manuscript very close to the original:

This second edition of Matt‘ēos Urhayec‘i’s *Žamanakagrut‘iwn* was completed at the Mother Seat Matenadaran through a comparison of 6 manuscripts and the previous Jerusalem printed text. The main text is taken from the most accurate specimen of the manuscripts №.1693 [present-day 1896], and the differences of the other manuscripts and printed text are marked in the margins. Manuscript

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<sup>36</sup>Introduction to Matthew of Edessa (Matt‘ēos Urhayec‘i), *Patmut‘iwn Matt‘ēosi Urhayec‘woy* (Jerusalem, 1869), ii. Translation mine.

<sup>37</sup>Połarean, *Mayr c‘uc‘ak jeřagrac‘srhoc‘ Yakobeanč‘*, 161.

<sup>38</sup>Połarean, *Mayr c‘uc‘ak hayerēn jeřagrac‘srhoc‘ Yakobeanč‘*, 71.

№.1693 was copied "by Yakovb the priest in the year 1138 [1689/90]" in notragir script; a measure of care was likely taken to keep the original work unaltered.<sup>39</sup>

The six manuscripts included in the edition were chosen after an examination of at least five others; they were considered to be 'of secondary value'. Due to the editors' belief in the integrity of Matenadaran 1896, the Vałaršapat edition was a diplomatic one rather than a critical one. Unfortunately, when the Vałaršapat text was re-printed alongside the modern Armenian translation by Hratch Bartikian in 1973,<sup>40</sup> the apparatus was discarded. As a result, most copies of the Vałaršapat text in print today have been reduced to little more than a transcription of a single, albeit stemmatically interesting, manuscript.

Neither of these editions made use of the manuscripts held outside Armenia or Jerusalem. Consequently, the manuscripts held by the Mekhitarist Fathers, including the two oldest known to exist, have never been published in any form; the Paris manuscripts are known only indirectly, through the translation of Dulaurier.

## Manuscript groupings and characteristics

What then may be determined of the relationships between the extant manuscripts? Although it would be tempting, for the purposes of text edition, to believe that the majority of the seventeenth-century and later manuscripts descend from our lone sixteenth-century copy, this is quickly disproved by an

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<sup>39</sup>Matthew of Edessa (Matt'ēos Urhayec'i), *Žamanakagrut'awn*, ed. M. Mēlik'-Adamean and N. Tēr-Mik'ayēlean (Vałaršapat, 1898), preface.

<sup>40</sup>Matthew of Edessa (Matt'ēos Urhayec'i), *Žamanakagrut'awn*, ed. and trans. by H. Bart'ikyan (Yerevan: Erevani Hamalsarani Hratarakč'ut'yun, 1991).

examination of their general features. The second-oldest extant manuscript, number 574 of the Mekhitarist library in Vienna, is markedly different from Venice 1176/887. One manuscript, Matenadaran 1896, copied in 1689, appears to preserve two relatively long passages of text that have disappeared from all others; another, Bzommar 449, copied in 1699, has many short but radical departures from all of the other texts. The two oldest manuscripts are themselves missing a number of isolated lines of text that are preserved in the later manuscripts to which they are most similar. In short, the manuscript tradition is exceedingly complex, and largely lost to us. The majority of the extant manuscripts were almost invariably copied from texts that either do not survive or have not come to light. To compound the confusion, the majority of the manuscripts give little to no information about their scribes, their provenance, or their exemplars. It is therefore unsurprising that no stemma has yet been attempted for the Chronicle; Lachmannian methods of stemmatology are prohibitively difficult to apply to this set of texts in the traditional way.

Broadly, the manuscripts can be divided into two groups; the first contains a relatively complete text, and the second contains a substantial truncation. Within the first relatively complete group, the Chronicle is usually transmitted together with the *Life of Nersēs* by the tenth-century priest Mesrop of Hołoc‘im. In many of these texts, the end of the *Life of Nersēs* has been attached to the beginning of the Chronicle, as was observed by the Jerusalem editors of their manuscripts. In certain manuscripts, such as Matenadaran 1896 and Oxford e.32, this final *Life of Nersēs* excerpt is included at the beginning of the Chronicle despite the absence of Mesrop’s text itself. The combination of these two texts is significant. St. Nersēs I was katholikos from 355–73, and was credited

with a vision that prophesied the partition of Armenia between Byzantium and Persia shortly after his death. Mesrop's *Life* contained an elaboration of this prophecy; its early transmission history is not known, but later recensions of the text embellished the prophecy of Nersēs to include the First Crusade.<sup>41</sup> Matthew refers to this embellished prophecy in his own description of the Crusade.<sup>42</sup> Taken together, the texts illustrated the prophetic vision of Nerses and its fulfilment as recorded by Matthew.

A subset of these texts carry section numbering at characteristic points. This numbering was also remarked upon by the editors of the Jerusalem edition; both Jerusalem manuscripts therefore belong to this subset, as does Venice 1176/887. The section numbers themselves are not consistent throughout the set, although they appear at near-identical points throughout the text.

The most notable feature of the second group of manuscripts is their truncation, usually in the entry for the year 546 (1097/8) just after a description of a comet that appeared in October 1097. These manuscripts also include the Chronicle near the end of a characteristic series of other texts. The sequence of texts varies slightly from manuscript to manuscript, but a typical example runs thus: History of the Hac'uni Cross, History of Kirakos Ganjakec'i, Letter of Pontius Pilate to the Emperor Tiberius, On Constantine the King, a treatise of the thirteenth century Syrian scholar Išawx, the Chronicle of Matthew, and the fifteenth-century history of T'ovma Mecop'ec'i. The common theme of these texts is more difficult to determine, although the combination of the Chronicle with various texts of historical interest, and particularly with the texts

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<sup>41</sup>Thomson, 'Armenian Perspective', 42–3.

<sup>42</sup>Matthew of Edessa, *Žamanakagrut' iwn* (1898), 253.

of Ganjakec‘i (covering the years from the 4th century to 1241) and Mecop‘eci‘ (covering the years 1388 to 1446) suggests that this group was meant as a historical collection. The inclusion of Mecop‘ec‘i’s text also gives a *terminus post quem* of 1446 for this transmission group.

A few manuscripts may not be easily classified into one of these two groups. Matenadaran 3519 (Vaḥaršapat specimen D) contains the sequence of texts characteristic of the second group, but the truncation of its text only comes in the entry for 554 (1105/6). In addition, it contains a set of section numberings that are very like those that appear within the first group. One seventeenth-century manuscript, held by the Armenian hospice of Rome, is currently unavailable for consultation due to its precarious state of preservation. According to its catalogue entry, the manuscript contains the *Life of Nersēs* and the Chronicle, which would indicate that it should be assigned to the first group; the Chronicle’s text, however, is truncated in a manner that would suggest its assignment to the second group. Without an opportunity to examine this text, no real conclusions about its place in the manuscript tradition can be drawn.

## List of manuscripts consulted to date

The current work is based on fifteen manuscripts in which both of these groups are represented. Fourteen of these date from the seventeenth century; the other is from the eighteenth. These manuscripts are here listed with the sigla under which they appear in the edited text. (Certain sigla<sup>43</sup> have been reserved for

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<sup>43</sup>Sigla C, G, and E have been reserved for texts Ա, Գ, and Ե of the Vaḥaršapat edition; sigla P and Q have been reserved for the two Paris texts.



manuscripts that were unavailable for inclusion here, but that will be consulted for the eventual edition.

### **A: Matenadaran 1896**

This manuscript served as the base text for the editors of the Vaġaršapat edition. It is the most complete manuscript of the Chronicle that exists, in that it is the only manuscript to preserve two relatively long passages of text whose absences are noted in several of the other manuscripts. It was copied in 1689 in the Amrdōlu monastery of Bitlis by Yakob Erēc<sup>44</sup>, at the behest of Vardan Bališec<sup>45</sup>, who was the librarian of the monastery.<sup>44</sup> Matthew's text is entitled 'History produced by Matthew the great priest of Edessa. About the Bagratuni kings and many others. Beginning in the year 400, finishing in the year 611.' It begins with the single-page excerpt from the end of the *Life of Nersēs* that is characteristic of many manuscripts in its group. A long colophon accompanies the text, in which Yakob Erec<sup>46</sup> states that Matthew wrote the Chronicle at the command of 'the great Armenian prince Vasil'. It is unclear to whom this could refer. The most well-known candidates would be Goł Vasil of Kesun or his successor, the younger Vasil, but according to Matthew's own account the elder Vasil died in 1112<sup>45</sup> and the younger Vasil was driven into exile around 1116,<sup>46</sup> far too early to have sponsored the Chronicle. Another candidate is Vasil Pahlawuni, brother of the katholikoi Grigor III Pahlawuni and Nersēs Šnorhali and lord

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<sup>44</sup>G. K. Moumdjian, 'The Chronicles of Sebeos, Levond Vardapet, Stepannos Taronetsi Asoġhik, and Matthew of Edessa', *Bazmavēp* 152 (1994): 378–94 at 390.

<sup>45</sup>Matthew of Edessa, *Žamanakagrut'ivn* (1898), 323–4.

<sup>46</sup>*Ibid.*, 337.

of Karkar.<sup>47</sup> Although Matthew's description of both Vasils of Kesun is highly complimentary,<sup>48</sup> he makes no mention in his own text of Vasil Pahlawuni<sup>49</sup> and there is no hint in his own prologues of any sponsorship of the text. Neither Vasil of Kesun could have ordered such a history at the time Matthew was most likely to have been writing. Although Vasil Pahlawuni was alive when the text was composed, Matthew does not display any particular focus on Karkar that would render him a likely sponsor. The text of the Chronicle is followed by the tenth-century history of Yovhannēs Drasxanakertc'i and a pair of poems of the sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century poet Simēon Aparanec'i.

### **B: Matenadaran 1767**

This manuscript was copied in 1623 in Aleppo, by a scribe called Avetik at the school of the *vardapet* Israyel Hamt'ec'i. The first several pages, which were meant to contain the beginning of the Chronicle, are blank; the scribe also left blank pages for the lacunae that are common to all texts apart from A. The Chronicle is the only text within the manuscript. It serves as variant P for the Vałaršapat edition.

### **D: Matenadaran 3519**

This manuscript was copied in 1647 in Marosvásárhely, now Târgu Mureș in Romania, by Xaç'ik Kafayec'i. It belongs to the second group of manuscripts, transmitted with the long sequence of texts as described above; this manuscript

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<sup>47</sup>See H. Ačāryan, *Hayoc' Anjnanunneri Bařaran* (Beirut: Erevani Petakan Hamalsaran, 1972), vol. 5 p. 56, no. 9.

<sup>48</sup>Matthew of Edessa, *Žamanakagrut' iwn* (1898), 323–4.

<sup>49</sup>This Vasil is, however, praised by Grigor Erēc': *ibid.*, 396.

has been consulted for the edition of the *Book about Nature* by Iṣōx (as manuscript h)<sup>50</sup> as well as the critical edition of the history of T'ovma Mecop'ec'i (as manuscript F).<sup>51</sup> The text of the Chronicle is truncated, not at the entry for 546 (1097/8) that is usual for this group, but near the end of the entry for the death of Grigor Vkasasēr in 1106. The 546 entry which usually marks the end of the manuscripts in this group contains a colophon in the main body of text, to the end of the page: 'Oh beloved and devoted brother, pardon the deficiency of words, because the exemplar ends here because the writing was not completed.' The text resumes normally on the next page, although there are no further chapter numberings. This manuscript served as variant Դ for the Vaṗarṣapat edition.

## **F: Matenadaran 1731**

This manuscript was copied in 1617 by Zatik, son of Poṭn. The short colophon gives no information about its location; however, the identification of the scribe, the year of the manuscript, and the identical hand to manuscript J below suggest that this manuscript too was copied in L'viv. Zatik is known to have been active in L'viv in 1615 and 1617; other manuscripts of his survive to the present day.<sup>52</sup> The manuscript belongs to the first group; the text includes the *Life of Nersēs*, the Chronicle, and the *Questions* of Athanasios of Alexandria. The chapter divisions assign the end of the *Life of Nersēs* to the text of the Chronicle, although a later

<sup>50</sup>Iṣōx, *Girk' i veray Bnut'ean*, ed. S. Vardanyan (Yerevan: Matenadaran, 1979), 75.

<sup>51</sup>Mecop'ec'i, T'ovma, *Patmagrut'yun*, ed. L. Xač'ikyan (Yerevan: Matenadaran, 1999), p. lxxv.

<sup>52</sup>Other work of his includes Matenadaran manuscripts 99, 479, 815, 1385, and 3506.

hand has pencilled in Matthew's name in the margin at the point where the Chronicle actually begins.

### **H: Matenadaran 1768**

This manuscript was copied by a monk named Yovsēp. It is undated, and the place where it was copied is not given.<sup>53</sup> It belongs to the second group, and is truncated accordingly. The ornamental headings appear to join the first several entries of the Chronicle to the previous text, through to the description of the civil war between the brothers Yovhannēs and Ašot, dated to 420. The text of the Chronicle is followed by a colophon, similar to that found in manuscript D but somewhat longer, informing the reader that the exemplar ended at that point. This colophon is identical to those found in manuscript L and in Matenadaran manuscript 3071, which was unavailable for this work. The text of T'ovma Mecop'ec'i contained therein appears as manuscript I in the edition of that history.<sup>54</sup>

### **I: Matenadaran 1769**

This manuscript was copied 1664 in Tiflis, by a priest called Yakob. It belongs to the second group, and is truncated accordingly. The listing of contents refers to the Chronicle as 'lacking a beginning', although the text begins normally with the entry for 401 (952/3); this could reflect the belief of the scribe that the Chronicle originally contained a preface that had been lost, or it could refer to

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<sup>53</sup>R. Kévorkian and C. Mutaſian have placed the manuscript in Armenia: see R. H. Kévorkian, ed., *Arménie entre Orient et Occident: trois mille ans de civilisation* (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale de France, 1996), 238 n. 104.

<sup>54</sup>Mecop'ec'i, *Patmagrut 'yun*, p. lxv.

the common inclusion of the end of the *Life of Nerses* within the other group of manuscripts. There is no reference to missing text after the 1096 entry. The text of Tʻovma Mecopʻecʻi contained therein appears as manuscript J in the edition of that history.<sup>55</sup>

### **J: Matenadaran 5587**

This manuscript was copied in 1617 in Lʻviv, Ukraine, by Zatik son of Połtn; this is the same scribe who produced manuscript F above, although this manuscript belongs to the second group rather than the first, and was thus copied from a different exemplar. There is no mention of the fact that the text is incomplete. The text of Tʻovma Mecopʻecʻi contained therein appears as manuscript M in the edition of that history.<sup>56</sup>

### **K: Bzommar 449**

This manuscript was copied in 1699 by an unknown scribe. Its location is also unknown, although a second colophon at the end of the text notes that the manuscript arrived in Livorno in 1787. It belongs to the first group of manuscripts, and contains the chapter numberings peculiar to the ‘Jerusalem’ subset of this group. The text begins, not with the *Life of Nersēs*, but with texts attributed to various *vardapets*; the *Life* begins on f. 70r. A list of content headings appears in the front of the manuscript; it is not clear from these where the scribe believed Matthew’s text to begin, and the ornamental titles within the text suggest that he placed the division between the *Life of Nersēs* and the

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<sup>55</sup>Mecopʻecʻi, *Patmagrut ʻyun*, p. lxv.

<sup>56</sup>Ibid., p. lxv.

Chronicle somewhat earlier than usual. This is the manuscript whose text diverges most significantly from the others; entire sentences are added, deleted, or paraphrased in a manner that suggests that the scribe was engaged in a new recension of the text. It is clear from the variants that the scribe of K was working from a text in the 'Jerusalem' subset, possibly manuscript F above, but was attempting to create a new recension of the text from the old. This manuscript also served as the exemplar for Bzommar 644, a nineteenth-century copy.

### **L: British Library, Or.5260**

This manuscript was copied in 1660 at Sanahin, by a bishop named Sargis. It belongs to the second group; the colophon at the end of the text is identical to that of manuscript H and to that of Matenadaran manuscript 3071, which was copied between 1651–60 and which served as variant **U** for the Vałaršapat edition, but which is not included here. It is very likely that L was copied from H, although further examination of Matenadaran 3071 is needed in order to establish the exact relationship between these three manuscripts.

### **O: Bodleian Library, MS Arm e.32**

This manuscript was copied in the early eighteenth century; the text is in multiple hands and there is no colophon. The first page of the manuscript contains a series of records of bequests made to the Varag monastery near Lake Van; the last of these identifies the writer as Avetis, who was consecrated as prior by Step<sup>ć</sup>anos *vardapet* in 1703. It belongs to the first, largely complete, group of

texts. The scribes were aware of the gaps that are present in all texts apart from A.

### **V: Venice 1176/887**

This manuscript is the oldest extant. It was copied between 1590 and 1600 by four separate scribes; the scribe responsible for the Chronicle's text was Pōlos of Merzivon. The manuscript was sponsored by Petros Maxsoutenc<sup>6</sup> in Aleppo; the text was therefore probably copied there. It belongs to the first group of manuscripts, beginning with the *Life of Nersēs*, and contains the chapter divisions peculiar to the 'Jerusalem' subset. It is one of only two manuscripts in this group (the other is Y, below) to include the history of T'ovma Mecop'ec'i after the Chronicle; it also includes a 'letter from Pilate to Tiberius' that is part of the characteristic sequence in the second group, although the letter is here included after the Chronicle. Like many of the copyists within this group, the scribe considered the text to begin with the last portion of the *Life of Nersēs*.

### **W: Vienna 574**

This manuscript was copied in 1601 by a priest named Grigor, probably in Constantinople. It was commissioned by Grigor II, patriarch in Constantinople in that year, and a short biography of him appears in a later hand at the end of the manuscript. This is the first extant manuscript of the second group, although the Chronicle is the last text present; the scribe describes it 'an arrangement [of texts] called "Histories", from diverse texts collected in one volume like an elegant flower-garden granted to me.'

### **X: Venice 1485/901**

This manuscript was copied in 1669<sup>57</sup> in Isfahan by two scribes; the scribe responsible for the text of the Chronicle was a priest named Sargis. It belongs to the first group; the text begins with the end of the *Life of Nersēs*, although the rest of Mesrop's text is placed after the Chronicle. It is missing a large portion of the text, from the middle of the entry for 514 (1065/6) to the middle of the entry for 546 (1097/8); it resumes at precisely the point where the texts in the second group are truncated. There is no indication that the scribe was aware of this substantial lacuna.

### **Y: Venice 185/913**

This manuscript was copied during the seventeenth century; there are no scribal colophons, and no other clues as to its provenance. It is a member of the 'Jerusalem' subset of the first group; the scribe (or perhaps the scribe responsible for the table of contents) believed that the Chronicle began with the end of the *Life of Nersēs*.

### **Z: Venice 1267/917**

This manuscript was copied during the seventeenth century; like Y above, there are no clues as to its provenance. It is a member of the second group, although

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<sup>57</sup>The date of this manuscript is given as 1661 in D. Kouymjian, 'Les reliures de manuscrits arméniens à inscriptions', in *Recherches de codicologie comparée*, ed. P. Hoffmann (Paris: Presses de l'école normale supérieure, 1998), 259–74 at 269; the manuscript colophon that appears on p. 725, however, records the date as ԹՃԺ Կ Ը (1118 of the Armenian era, which is 1669/1670).



only three of the characteristic sequence of texts are included ('On Constantine the King', the text of Iṣawxa, and the Chronicle).

## **Other manuscripts**

A complete list of the known manuscripts appears in appendix D on page 308. Not all of these manuscripts have been available in time for inclusion in this thesis. The Jerusalem manuscripts have thus far proved inaccessible, even through reproduction; as an interim solution I have included the text of the printed 1869 edition in the edition herein. I have been delayed in the acquisition of copies of two texts held by the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris; these texts, numbers 191 and 200 of the Armenian collection, are the ones (along with Venice 2279/986) from which Dulaurier made his translation. The sigla 'P' and 'Q' are reserved for them. The two nineteenth-century copies held by the Mekhitarists of Vienna, numbers 243 and 246, give the outward appearance of a close link with Paris 200; confirmation of that relationship must wait until the Paris texts can be examined in their entirety.

Although I was able to examine twelve manuscripts held by the Matenadaran, I was only able to obtain copies of seven of them in time for inclusion in this thesis. Three of these were included in the Vaḥaršapat edition of the text; these are ms. 3071 (variant **U**, copied between 1651 and 1661 at Yovhannovank', between Ani and Lake Sevan, by a scribe named Zak'aria), ms. 3520 (variant **Գ**, 17th century, of unknown provenance) and ms. 2644 (variant **b**, copied between 1850 and 1857 in Gori and Constantinople by Ruben Paḥtasarean, T'adēos Mihrdatean). As seen above, Matenadaran 3071 is closely related to manuscripts

H and L, and is therefore of the second group; further examination is necessary to deduce the precise relationship. Ms. 3520 belongs to the first group of texts. Ms. 2644 contains only the Chronicle, and does not retain the excerpt from the *Life of Nersēs* at the beginning of the text; it is therefore impossible to judge the extent to which it shares characteristics with the first group.

There remain eight manuscripts held by the Matenadaran, as well as the one in Rome, that I have been unable so far to examine. The eight Matenadaran manuscripts date from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Two of these (mss. 1781 and 2855) were examined by the editors of the Vałaršapat edition and considered to be 'of secondary value'.<sup>58</sup> Some of them can be classified into one of the two groups based on external characteristics; others will need to be examined before even such a preliminary determination can be made.

## Summary

The Chronicle has a large and very complex text tradition. Thirty-five more or less full copies of the text are known to exist, in two major transmission groups; every one of these manuscripts dates from after 1590. There is thus a gap of over 400 years between the composition of the text and the first surviving copies. The rapid proliferation of surviving copies over the seventeenth century, and the characteristics of these surviving texts, suggest that there were several copies extant during the seventeenth century that have now been lost.

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<sup>58</sup>Matthew of Edessa, *Žamanakagrut' iwn* (1898), preface. The editors refer to them by the old catalogue numbers 1749 and 134 respectively.

The breadth and complexity of the manuscript tradition has effectively prevented the creation of a critical edition until now. The two published editions, that published in Jerusalem in 1869 and that of Vałaršapat in 1898, were based on a small subset of the available manuscripts; only the Vałaršapat edition included an apparatus of variants. The lack of a critical edition has, in turn, impeded significant scholarship of the text.

This chapter has presented an overview of the extant manuscripts of the text, and demonstrated the problems inherent in the creation of a critical edition. The next chapter will turn to a discussion of solutions to these problems, made possible by computer technology that has only been available for the last few years.

## Chapter 3

# Computer-assisted methods for text edition

The volume and complexity of the available texts of the Chronicle have up to now been the primary obstacle to a full critical edition. The available translations, and all but the most general interpretation of the text, have had to remain provisional as a result. That in turn has become a pressing problem for projects in which it is crucial to record, as precisely as possible, the details of names and circumstances of the people who appear.<sup>1</sup>

The difficulty of editing the Chronicle is clear from the attempts that have been made to date to accomplish it. The Vařarřapat edition of 1898 represents an enormous amount of work by the editors and their assistants, but the end product is based on only six of the thirty-five manuscripts, records very

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<sup>1</sup>One such example is the *Prosopography of the Byzantine World* project (*Prosopography of the Byzantine World*, <<http://www.pbw.kcl.ac.uk/>> 2006.1, accessed 13 Feb 2009). Without a critical edition of the text, the maintainers of the project have been unable to include the Chronicle among its sources to date.

few variants, and is often severely misleading about the exact contents of the manuscripts included. This is a natural consequence of the manual process that had necessarily to be employed. It is only with the general availability of computers that a more accurate edition truly becomes feasible—computers, unlike humans, do not by themselves introduce errors in the transcription or variant selection of a text.

The editors in 1898 also faced the problem of granularity. Even had they faithfully and exactly recorded every variant, however, they would have been limited by the amount of space available in a printed edition, and unable in practice to present every one. Each user of an edition has his or her own requirements for the information contained therein. Historians, by and large, do not concern themselves with the minute level of variation that may interest a philologist or a linguist. Had the editors been somehow free from space constraints in their printed volume and included such a minute level of detail, the information may well have been considered a nuisance to many of their readers.

Here too the advantages of a computational solution are clear. The size of the apparatus is limited not by page volume but by electronic storage space; in practice this has ceased to be a limitation at all. Electronic display allows the reader, rather than the editor, to choose the level of detail that he or she wishes to see. One reader may simply wish to peruse the base text, or to see only those variants that change the interpretation of the text in some way; another reader, engaged in linguistic research, may wish to review all instances of a certain orthographic variation. Either reader may examine the original transcription, or even (given appropriate permission from holders of image rights) an image

of the manuscript page itself. The editor need no longer judge, on behalf of his or her readership, the level of detail that merits inclusion.

Within this chapter, I discuss the details of the methods I have adopted, and the computational aids I have devised, in order to produce an electronic edition of a set of passages within the Chronicle. These computational tools have in turn allowed me to gain a better stemmatic understanding of the manuscripts included, which will greatly ease the task of producing a full edition of the text.

## Transcription

Given a set of manuscripts, their transcription is the first and most demanding step toward an eventual edition. This task has traditionally formed part of the collation process; manuscripts have not always been thoroughly transcribed in their entirety, but instead have been transcribed wherever they are found to be at variance with a known edition. In a 1973 handbook on textual criticism, the process is described thus:

The manuscript is compared with a printed edition word by word, and the differences written down. [...] It is advisable to record orthographical variants fairly systematically, at least for portions of the text, for they can be of use (though not by themselves) in working out the details of a stemma, and they are not uninformative in themselves. Corrections and marginal or interlinear variants should be carefully recorded, with notes of whether they are due to the original scribe or in another hand. When collating in situ a manuscript that may be of some importance, it is a good idea to note the point in the text at which each page begins, for two reasons: one might then notice e.g. that an omission in another manuscript corresponded exactly to an opening of this one (which might confirm indications that it was derived from it); and if it is subsequently

necessary to check the reading in a certain passage, it is easy to order a photograph of the right page.<sup>2</sup>

Although that handbook was written before computers took hold in the field of textual criticism, the same principles apply for electronic transcription. It is only the forms that have changed. The most widely-adopted standard for digital representation of texts is the eXtensible Markup Language (XML) definition produced by the Text Encoding Initiative consortium; this XML file format is generally known as TEI. There are several advantages to using TEI. The transcriber has a rich vocabulary for the description of features of the text; this pre-existing vocabulary leads to a more regular and detailed transcription than might otherwise be produced. Any character that can be represented in Unicode<sup>3</sup> is automatically supported, and TEI provides the capacity to represent the use of other characters (such as palaeographical ligatures that are not used in modern texts). Any editorial judgement made during transcription of a text may be noted as such, and the person responsible for that judgement may be indicated. There is a tag for nearly every feature of a text that has been observed; these include page and line breaks, abbreviations and their expansions, the rendition of highlighted text, and marginal notes, whether written by the original scribe or by a later hand. For many features, such as corrections, the editor can mark a distinction between scribal and editorial corrections, and can express

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<sup>2</sup>M. L. West, *Textual Criticism and Editorial Technique: Applicable to Greek and Latin Texts* (Stuttgart: B. G. Teubner, 1973), 66–7.

<sup>3</sup>In the early days of computing, a computer could represent no more than 255 distinct characters at a time; this made it impossible, for example, to render Russian, Armenian, and English in the same document, or to render languages such as Chinese at all. Interim solutions were found for Asian languages that required more than 255 characters, but these solutions did not address multi-language display. This is the problem that Unicode addresses, and it has become standard on most computers today.

how certain he or she is of the correct reading. The TEI definition also supports linguistic analysis—individual sentences, phrases, clauses, words, sub-word morphemes, and characters can be marked and classified. Most importantly, the status of TEI as an accepted standard allows the editor of encoded texts to take advantage of existing software for text edition and display.

Notwithstanding the data format, transcription is by far the most time-consuming and exacting part of the editing process, and accuracy is essential. Although optical character recognition (OCR)—the technology that allows computer scanning and recognition of written text—has improved dramatically for printed texts within the last five years, it does not yet work reliably for handwritten texts. The method that ensures the best accuracy, when a computer collation program is available, is to make two independent transcriptions of each text, preferably by two different people, and to reconcile these using the computer.<sup>4</sup> No such collation program was available at the outset of this endeavour, nor was a second transcriptionist. I opted instead to approximate the double-transcription method with the assistance of OCR for printed text. I used an OCR program to ‘read’ the Vaḷarṣapat text as it was published alongside Bartikian’s 1973 translation—the character recognition is not perfectly accurate, but gives well over 99% accuracy. This serves as the first ‘independent’ transcription of a text. The manuscript itself serves as the second ‘independent’ copy. I then performed a manual reconciliation of the two versions, comparing and resolving the differences between them. The result is a manuscript text that is significantly more accurate than would have been produced by a single

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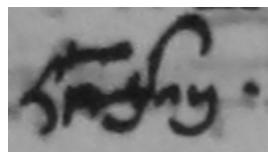
<sup>4</sup>Discussion with P. Robinson, April 2008; this was the method used by Spencer et al. in their study, cited below on p. 53. On computer collation itself, see p. 42.



transcription. The printed text serves only as a medium for transcription; it has not become a ‘base’ text in the critical sense. This method also has the advantage of replicating in electronic form the method that West advocates above—rather than retyping the text of the individual manuscripts in full, I have simply noted *in situ* the ways in which the text differs from the edition. As Peter Robinson noted in his description of his own methods,<sup>5</sup> when a sizeable body of transcriptions has accumulated it becomes easier to find a digital ‘base’ text that is similar to the text to be transcribed.

Here the disadvantage of the TEI format makes itself apparent. A scribal correction in a typical manuscript, as for example the correction of the word Լալոց (hayoc‘, ‘of the Armenians’) to an abbreviated form of the word Լոռոմոց (hořomoc‘, ‘of the Romans’) shown in Figure 3.1, must be transcribed in the relatively onerous fashion given in Figure 3.2. Not only must the substitution be marked via the ‘corr’ (‘correction’), ‘del’ (‘deletion’), and ‘add’ (‘addition’) tags, but the transcriber must note that the corrected form of the word is abbreviated, supply an expansion via the ‘ex’ tag, and mark herself as the person responsible for that expansion via the ‘resp’ attribute.

Figure 3.1: Scribal alteration of the word Լալոց to Լոռոմոց



The problem is clear. Each word that appears in the manuscript must be enclosed in an exact set of angle brackets, slashes, and other tags. The manual

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<sup>5</sup>P. M. W. Robinson, ‘The Collation and Textual Criticism of Icelandic Manuscripts (1): Collation’, *Literary and Linguistic Computing* 4/2 (1989): 99–105 at 100.

Figure 3.2: XML representation of scribal correction in manuscript

```
<seg type="word">
  <corr>
    <del>հայ</del>
    <add>հ<ex resp="#tla">ռ</ex>ռ<ex resp="#tla">ռ</ex>մ</add>
  </corr>հդ.
</seg>
```

input of these tags is prone to error; it is a hindrance in any event when the text to be transcribed is not in the Roman alphabet, and when the transcriber must consequently switch constantly between character sets.

There is not yet a good and widely-available solution to this problem. For my own work, I have created a special tag set in order to mitigate it somewhat. Instead of directly typing the XML within Figure 3.2, my own transcription for the same example appears in Figure 3.3.

Figure 3.3: Shorthand representation of scribal correction in manuscript

±-հայ-+հ\ռ\ռ\ռ\մ+±հդ.

This format allows a transcription with many fewer characters than raw XML. Each space-separated collection of characters is assumed to be a separate word; each carriage return is assumed to be a line break in the manuscript. The special characters represent specific descriptive tags within TEI, and were chosen primarily for the unlikelihood of their appearance in an Armenian manuscript. I have written and released a program to accompany this format, which transforms the markup automatically into TEI.<sup>6</sup> This is a solution that is not likely to be widely adopted, however; its use of transcription control

<sup>6</sup>T. L. Andrews, *Text-TEI-Markup*, <<http://search.cpan.org/~aurum/Text-TEI-Markup/>>, accessed 15 Feb. 2009

characters is arbitrary and arcane, and it was designed with only the personal preferences of a single transcriber in mind. The only true solution to the problem of XML transcription is a graphical editor to resemble a standard word processor, but if a project to produce such a program exists, it is not known to me. The lack of an efficient and user-friendly means of digital transcription remains one of the primary obstacles to the digitisation of textual scholarship.

Figure 3.4: Two different means of abbreviation of the word այսպէս (ayspēs, ‘thus’)



The transcriptions produced using the method described above are reasonably thorough. All abbreviations are, along with their presumed expansions if they can be determined with reasonable certainty. The orthographic method of abbreviation is not recorded; that is, both specimens in Figure 3.4 are recorded identically. Armenian palaeography contains certain characters that are not available in Unicode; for these, non-Unicode character references have been created.<sup>7</sup> These are the only non-Unicode characters for which I have created a definition; consequently, accent marks are recorded within the text only if those marks are available within Unicode, and I have not explicitly recorded uses of the short downstroke that often appears for the letter ա. While these features are of palaeographical and linguistic interest, and a means should eventually be found for recording them,<sup>8</sup> their omission does not affect the text

<sup>7</sup>These include characters for the words աշխարհ (ašxarh, ‘land’), ընդ (ənd, ‘through’), ըստ (əst, ‘according to’), արեգակն (aregakn, ‘sun’), երկիր (erkir, ‘earth’), and երկին (erkin, ‘heaven’).

<sup>8</sup>The ideal means of recording these orthographic features would be to have them included within the Unicode definition. Although this is not a straightforward process, and would

for the purposes of critical edition. Scribal corrections within the text are noted, although errant strokes are not recorded, since there is no representation of such strokes in Unicode. The information omitted will not affect the creation or presentation of the text edition; if, in the future, it becomes desirable to include these orthographic features in a future edition, they may be added to the existing TEI files with little trouble.

## Collation

The core task in which the computer proves its value is that of collation of the transcribed texts. The collation of a text requires recognition of both simple matches (exact and near-exact coincidences of words) and matches that depend on linguistic context (the decision, given multiple plausible options, of which particular words should be aligned with each other in a pair of texts.) Although a human collator is naturally more skilled at the latter sort of match, a computer is much faster at the former. The ideal solution is therefore to allow the computer to perform the initial task of collation, including any fine-tuning that can reasonably be expressed in computer code, and to have a human review any problematic subset of alignments. As long as the computer can be made to achieve a high degree of collation accuracy, and the task of human correction can be kept to a minimum, collation becomes simple and quick.

The first computer collation program that made allowance for non-exact word matches was COLLATE, written by Peter Robinson in the late 1980s and

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require a proposal to be submitted to the Unicode Consortium, in the long term it is the best solution.

maintained throughout the 1990s.<sup>9</sup> This has been the standard in the field of text criticism ever since. Unfortunately, it never worked with Unicode or with TEI, and support for its computer operating environment was withdrawn in stages between 2005 and 2007. Although it is still used in some departments on old computers kept for the purpose, it must now be considered obsolete. No replacement has appeared to date, and I have therefore taken the opportunity to write my own, known as Encritic (for the computer ENCoding of text CRITICism.)

In 1989, Robinson wrote that he had chosen to use the programming language SNOBOL for its superior capabilities in handling text; twenty years later, I have chosen Perl for many of the same reasons. In addition to the language's unparalleled facility with natural-language text and fast searching, Perl programmers have at their disposal a vast archive of freely available modules of code that obviate the need to re-implement solutions for tasks that have already been solved by others.

The most important of these external modules, for the purposes of Encritic, is an algorithm to detect the differences between two sequences, and to return the smallest set of changes necessary to convert one sequence to the other. The module is known as `Algorithm::Diff`, and its existence spares me the necessity of implementing my own, less efficient, difference detection code. This alone has made my task significantly easier than that faced by Robinson.

Given a set of two or more text transcriptions in TEI format as described above, Encritic first parses each transcription and draws out a list of words. Each of these words is put through a 'regularisation' method to aid comparison. The

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<sup>9</sup>Robinson, 'Collation of Icelandic Manuscripts'.

method may be defined by any user of the program, and will vary according to the language of the text; the one I have defined and used for the Armenian text of the Chronicle may be described thus:

- Each instance of  $\text{աւ}$  becomes  $\text{օ}$ .<sup>10</sup>
- Each instance of the ligature  $\text{և}$  is expanded to  $\text{ևւ}$ .
- All accents and punctuation marks are removed. Sentence punctuation is noted and stored alongside the word itself.
- All hyphens are removed.
- The word is made lowercase.

It is important to stress that this ‘comparison’ form is not used in the production of the eventual text, and the original form of the word is not lost. The goal of collation is to recognise and link similar words; the point of this regularisation is to minimise the orthographic differences between words in order to facilitate collation.

At this point, each text has been converted into a series of orthographically regular words, and may now be compared. The comparison is performed in pairs, using the `Algorithm::Diff` module. Given two sequences of words, `Algorithm::Diff` will return a series of subsequences, which can be of four possible types:

- The subsequence is the same. The words therein are identical in both texts.
- The subsequence has been added. The words are not present in the first text.
- The subsequence has been deleted. The words are not present in the second text.

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<sup>10</sup>I have chosen this equivalence, rather than the reverse, in order to more easily spot vocalic substitutions of  $\text{ա}$  for  $\text{օ}$  and vice versa.

- The subsequence has been changed. Different words, and possibly a different number of words, are present in each text.

Where a set of words is identical, added, or deleted, the task of Encritic is straightforward. Each set is passed through unchanged, and blank spaces are added where necessary to the other sequence to keep the words aligned. In the cases where words have been changed, however, further analysis is necessary. Are the words truly different, or are they simply variants of the same root word?

To make this determination, Encritic draws upon another available Perl module, which calculates an 'edit distance' between two words based upon the Wagner-Fischer algorithm.<sup>11</sup> A distance of zero indicates that the two words are identical. Each change, insertion, or deletion of a letter incurs a numeric 'cost', usually 1. The edit distance is equal to the total 'cost' of the smallest number of alterations necessary to make the strings match.

In order to better represent differences between Armenian words, I have adapted the available Wagner-Fischer module to produce a version specifically for the Armenian language. This operates in a similar fashion to the base module, with the following differences:

- Addition or deletion of a single-letter linguistic prefix or suffix (that is, *դ-*, *ց-*, *յ-*; *-ւ*, *-դ*, *-ս*, *-ք*) has a cost of 0.5. This represents the increased likelihood that a word with one of these prefixes or suffixes should be matched to a similar word without them. An ideal solution would also account for multiple-letter suffixes, but the Wagner-Fischer algorithm does not allow for that possibility.
- The substitution of a letters with another that is an approximate vocalic equivalent (e.g. *ո/օ*, *դ/կ/ք*, *դ/ւո*, *ւ/է*) has a cost of 0.5. This allows the program to account for regional spelling shifts in Armenian.

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<sup>11</sup>R. A. Wagner and M. J. Fischer, 'The String-to-String Correction Problem', *Journal of the Association for Computing Machinery* 21 / 1 (1974): 168–73.

It is important to note that this method is only a heuristic for comparison. The goal is to align as many similar words as possible in the collation process, and to align different words where they coincide in the text and where no closer match can be found for either. The collation itself does not reflect an editorial judgement that, for example, *zōrs* (‘forces’) is a variation of *zors* (relative pronoun ‘which’). The use of this heuristic simply means that, in the absence of an exact match for either of these words in the subsequence under consideration, they should be aligned with each other for editorial review.

For each ‘changed’ subsequence, the words therein are compared using this edit distance calculation. For each word in text 1, the ‘best’ match within text 2 is found. If the edit distance is acceptably low<sup>12</sup> and if no better match has yet been found for the word in question, a match is made. The subsequence is aligned on the basis of these approximate matches.

During this comparison process, the collator also watches for approximate matches that span two words. An example may be seen in the pair of readings *minčew* (‘until’) and *mišt ew* (‘always and’); although it is not clear that the word *minčew* should match the lone word *mišt*, the addition of *ew* to the latter makes the scribal variant more clear. This example will be flagged by the collator as a multi-word variant, and treated as such in the eventual editing process.

The result of this comparison algorithm is a pair of sequences of identical length, padded where necessary, to represent the first two texts. These sequences become the first two columns in what is essentially a table of words,

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<sup>12</sup>The definition of ‘acceptable’ is variable, and must be determined through some trial and error. For the purposes of collating the Chronicle, I have found that ‘no more than half of the number of letters in the longest word’ is a reasonable formula.



with each set of aligned words forming a row. For the comparison of each subsequent text, a ‘base’ text is generated from the table of results. The first non-blank word in each row is added to this virtual base text, and the new text is compared against this base. Any alignment spacing that has been added to the ‘base’ text is introduced into the results table, and the newly collated text is added as a new column.

After all the texts have been thus collated, Encritic performs some basic fine-tuning of the results. The situation that must most commonly be corrected may be illustrated with the following pair of sentences:

- I bought this glass, because it matches those dinner plates.
- I bought those glasses.

The human collator would naturally align these sentences thus:

I	bought	this	glass,	because	it	matches	those	dinner	plates.
I	bought	those	glasses.						

Despite the relatively short edit distances between the words ‘this’ and ‘those’, and the words ‘glass’ and ‘glasses’, however, the algorithm described above would instead choose a more exact match for the word ‘those’, resulting in the following.

I	bought	this	glass,	because	it	matches	those	dinner	plates.
I	bought						those	glasses.	

One of the fine-tuning tasks must therefore be to seek out short sequences of words isolated by long gaps on either side, or by the beginning or end of the text, and attempt to find an approximate match that preserves a continuous text. The alignment above would here be corrected to match the alignment that

a human would produce. This process is also used to mark the beginning and end of each text, and the beginning and end of any substantial gap in the text, for easier handling during the editing process (discussed below). Future versions of Encritic will include a graphical interface for manual re-alignment of words where necessary. Given adequate tuning to determine an ‘acceptable’ match, the need for this manual re-alignment should be minimal.

Just as TEI provides a useful and standard format for manuscript transcription and representation, it also provides a standard for representation of variant readings in a critical apparatus. It is into this form of TEI that Encritic outputs its collation results. An example is given in figure 3.5.

Figure 3.5: Collation output example

```
<app xml:id="App556">  
  <rdg wit="#K">  
    <w>ⲁϣⲓⲛⲣⲏⲑⲗ</w>  
  </rdg>  
  <rdg wit="#Jer #F #B #A #G #D #O #V #X #Y #Z #W">  
    <w>ⲁϣⲓⲛⲣⲏⲑⲗ</w>  
  </rdg>  
  <rdg wit="#I #E #J">  
    <w>ⲁϣⲉⲡⲏⲧⲕ</w>  
  </rdg>  
</app>  
<app xml:id="App557">  
  <rdg wit="#A #F #J #W #X #B #Z #Jer #D #I #O #K">  
    <w xml:id="Wordl71">ⲫⲱⲙⲟⲩⲥⲭⲏⲃ</w>  
    <witDetail target="#"Wordl71" wit="#"F" type="punctuation"/></witDetail>  
  </rdg>  
  <rdg wit="#Y #V" type="omission"/>  
</app>
```

Each ‘app’ (apparatus) encloses one or more ‘rdg’ (reading) tags; each reading tag gives the list of witnesses (‘wit’) in which that reading appears, and the individual words (‘w’) that make up the reading. Any punctuation which was recorded with a word is re-inserted into the collation output as a ‘witDetail’ (witness detail) attached to the word; this allows the editor to handle punctuation variants in an appropriate way, without allowing those variants to

affect the word collation results. At this point, edition of the text is as simple as selecting a lemma at any point where there are multiple available readings, and selecting a base form of punctuation where appropriate, based on that which is present in the manuscripts.

## **Edition**

Within the context of this computer-aided process, ‘edition’ refers specifically to the stage during which an editor must review the text, consider the available alternative readings, and use his or her editorial judgement to select the ‘best’ reading. Any program for text ‘edition’ must therefore accomplish several tasks. It must maintain a running display of the text that has already been edited. It must, for the current position in the text, present the surrounding context and the available alternative readings, including any punctuation that may appear in the manuscripts. The editor must have the ability not only to select a lemma from the available readings, but also to record different forms of extra information. This information can be a general editorial note or a reference to another portion of the text or another text; it can also be information about the relationship between various readings that should be incorporated into the editing process. For example, if the editor is presented with a choice between the words Հաոց (Haoc‘, ‘of the Armenians [sic]’) and Հայոց (Hayoc‘, ‘of the Armenians’), he or she will probably wish to record that the former is a variant spelling of the latter. The program should store this information, and should thereafter automatically select Հայոց when presented with that particular choice of readings.

Since collation and edition are two separate operations, the editor need run the collation program only once on a large set of texts, thus streamlining the most time-consuming portion of the procedure. He or she may then process the collation results—that is, create the edition of the text—in one session or in several, saving his or her work as it progresses.

A typical excerpt from the TEI collation results may look like the example above in Figure 3.5. In the first ‘app’ entry within the example, the choice is between *այնորիկ* (aynorik, ‘of that’), *այսորիկ* (aysorik, ‘of this’), and *այսօրիկ* (aysōrik, ‘of this’ [sic.]). The editor must express a choice between ‘this’ or ‘that’; he or she will also wish to record that ‘aysōrik’ is an orthographic variant of ‘aysorik’. Wherever this pair of words occurs in future, the editor should not need to specify that the latter is a non-canonical variant; however, no such permanent decision should be recorded for ‘aysorik’ and ‘aynorik’ (‘of this’ and ‘of that’.) The editor must choose in each instance, based on the surrounding textual context, which of these readings is appropriate.

Let us now suppose that the editor has considered the variants and wishes to choose the reading *այսորիկ* (‘this’). The choice is recorded by the simple substitution of the tag <lem/> (‘lemma’) for the selected <rdg/>. The editor may also choose to emend the text with a reading that is not present in any manuscript; in that case, the new reading will become the lemma. An explanatory note is required by the editing software for any emendation; the note will be enclosed in a ‘note’ tag within the apparatus in question, and will automatically be displayed in the footnotes to the published text.

The beginning and ending of each text, as well as any substantial gaps, are detected automatically by the collation program. This information is

preserved for the editing process; the editor therefore need never explicitly mark an omission for each missing reading from those texts that have substantial lacunae. Only the variant readings in the non-lacunate texts will be presented for consideration.

Selection of punctuation and section divisions (e.g. paragraphs, chapters) works in a similar fashion. The attested punctuation and sectioning alternatives are stored as a 'witness detail' within the text. For each reading, any associated punctuation and any section division information is displayed to the editor, who can use it as a guide to choose where punctuation marks or section breaks are appropriate. Due to the fact that the extent of punctuation and sectional variation within medieval manuscripts is quite high, and modern standards of orthography do not necessarily correspond to standards of the period when any particular manuscript was copied, the editor is not required to explain his or her punctuation choices as he or she would for emendations of readings themselves.

The current user interface for edition is rudimentary; it was written simply as a proof of concept of the underlying techniques. This interface was used to produce the edited excerpts of the Chronicle included here; an example is given in Figure 3.6. The preceding context (in the form of the text so far edited) and following context in each manuscript is printed, then the available readings and any 'witness details' (i.e. punctuation or section divisions) are listed with the manuscripts in which they appear. This interface is wholly command-driven; the available commands can be displayed by typing 'h' or 'help'. Future versions of the software will include a graphical version of this interface for ease of use.

Figure 3.6: Sample of editing interface

```
Looking at app App452
Context: և մի քանի, թողուն զինու թեան անց և վյ ադ ուղու անց ցործից, և մի ան անապատի ցործից
Following context:
#D : դեպքերին, վաճառքի և ցանկերի թեան չ ադ
#W : դեպքերին, վաճառքի և ցանկերի թեան չ ադ
#X : դեպքերին, վաճառքի և ցանկերի թեան չ ադ
#Y : դեպքերին, վաճառքի և ցանկերի թեան չ ադ
#F : դեպքերին, վաճառքի և ցանկերի թեան չ ադ
#I #Jer #J #K #Z #V #A #B #O: դեպքերին, վաճառքի և ցանկերի թեան չ ադ
-----

Available readings:
1 : դեպքերին (#Jer #K #B #I #A #D #J #O #V #Y #Z )
2 : դեպքերին (#X )
4 : դեպքերին (#F )
6 : դեպքերին (#W )

Manuscript details:
3: Witness(es) #X contain a : after դեպքերին
5: Witness(es) #F contain a , after դեպքերին
--> h
Available commands:
accept (#)
accept detail (#)
subst detail (#) (value)
spelling (# alternate) (# canonical)
orth (# alternate) (# canonical)
emend (comment text)
note (note text)
next
help
save
quit
--> □
```

## Publication

Once set out in a TEI file, an edited text may easily be published. One of the core advantages of XML is its well-defined form and vocabulary; programmatic re-formatting of the data therein is a simple task. One powerful means of XML translation comes in the form of the eXtensible Stylesheet Language (XSL). Through XSL transforms (XSLT), an XML file may be easily re-written into any format a user desires. These formats can include the HyperText Markup Language (HTML) for online publication, and a number of formats for word processing or typesetting in print—rich text format (RTF), Microsoft Word XML format (.docx), or TeX (a well-known typesetting and publishing format) and its variants. The edited text in appendix A was produced with a program that

converts an XML edition document into a variant of TeX, and thence into the portable document format (PDF).

A variety of tools already exist for the online publication of critical editions and manuscript variants via XSLT; one popular tool is the Versioning Machine of Susan Schreibman et al.<sup>13</sup> Given an XML file such as the one produced by Encritic, the Versioning Machine allows parallel display of all available manuscripts within a web browser.

## Stemmatic analysis

Given a collated and edited set of texts, we may now return to the question of stemmatic analysis. The nature of the manuscript tradition of the Chronicle effectively precludes traditional application of Lachmannian methods.<sup>14</sup> I have therefore turned to the cladistic analysis methods first described in the 1970s<sup>15</sup> and applied with a great deal of success throughout the 1990s<sup>16</sup> to gain a more detailed understanding of the relationships between the extant texts.

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<sup>13</sup>S. Schreibman, A. Kumar, and J. McDonald, 'The Versioning Machine', *Literary and Linguistic Computing* 18/1 (2003): 101–7.

<sup>14</sup>These methods are delineated most succinctly by P. Maas, *Textual Criticism* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1958); for a historical overview of textual criticism trends, including those credited to Lachmann, see D. C. Greetham, *Textual Scholarship: an Introduction* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1992), 313 ff.; see also L. D. Reynolds and N. G. Wilson, *Scribes and Scholars: A Guide to the Transmission of Greek and Latin Literature* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), 208–18.

<sup>15</sup>N. I. Platnick and H. D. Cameron, 'Cladistic Methods in Textual, Linguistic, and Phylogenetic Analysis', *Systematic Zoology* 26 (1977): 380–85; also discussed briefly by Greetham, *Textual Scholarship*, 328–9.

<sup>16</sup>P. M. W. Robinson, 'Computer-Assisted Stemmatic Analysis and 'Best-Text' Historical Editing', in *Studies in Stemmatology*, ed. P. T. van Reenen, M. van Mulken, and J. W. Dyk (Amsterdam; Philadelphia: Benjamins, 1996), 71–103; for an experimental examination of this method, see M. Spencer et al., 'Phylogenetics of Artificial Manuscripts', *Journal of Theoretical Biology* 227 (2004): 503–11.

The most promising means of large-scale cladistic analysis is the phylogenetic method of manuscript stemma construction described by Robinson et al.<sup>17</sup> This takes advantage of a statistical method used by evolutionary biologists called maximum parsimony, or simply ‘parsimony’.<sup>18</sup> The principle is straightforward. Each biological organism has a genetic identity coded by the base sequence of its DNA—these bases can be represented by the four letters A, T, G, and C. Comparison of DNA base sequences permits analysis of the evolutionary relations between species. In general, if fewer differences occur in the sequences of two species as compared to another set of species, they are more closely related. A phylogenetic ‘family tree’ may be recovered through several statistical methods, including parsimony; this particular method looks for the tree that would require the fewest evolutionary changes to arrive at the given set of species.

The same principle may be applied to manuscript texts. Rather than sequences of nucleotides, the texts can be expressed in sequences of readings. Two manuscripts that are close to each other in a stemma will have more readings in common than two manuscripts on distant branches. Although the true manuscript tradition for a given text may be irretrievably complex and essentially unknowable—just as with evolutionary family trees—best practice in stemma construction requires that an unknown number of common ancestors that cannot be differentiated be abstracted into a single postulated ancestor, thus

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<sup>17</sup>P. M. W. Robinson, ‘New Directions in Critical Editing’, in *Electronic Text: Investigations in Method and Theory*, ed. K. Sutherland (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), 145–71.

<sup>18</sup>The following explanation is taken from C. J. Howe et al., ‘Parallels Between Stemmatology and Phylogenetics’, in *Studies in Stemmatology II*, ed. P. T. van Reenen, A. den Hollander, and M. van Mulken (Amsterdam: Benjamins, 2004), 3–11 at 3–4.



minimising the number of hypothetical lost copies of a text.<sup>19</sup> This simplification is the point of ‘maximum parsimony’. Matthew’s Chronicle is a superb example of the complicated textual problems that may be greatly assisted by phylogenetic methods—the lack of surviving manuscripts before the seventeenth century, and the plethora of manuscripts that were independently copied after, produces a set of textual ‘specimens’ that closely mimics a collection of living biological species.

It is important to stress here that the phylogenetic method of stemmatic analysis does not produce a final result, to be accepted as ‘right’ or discarded as ‘wrong.’ As observed by Reynolds and Wilson:

Ultimately, the basic essential equipment is taste, judgement, common sense, and the capacity to distinguish what is right from what is wrong in a given context; and these remain the perquisite of human wit. But where the tradition is large and complex, computers can be usefully employed in building up a provisional picture of the interrelationship of texts.<sup>20</sup>

The results of phylogenetic analysis provide a wealth of data concerning this interrelationship, and as we shall see below, this data must be used in turn by ‘nature’s own computer, located between the ears of the investigator.’<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>19</sup>West, *Textual Criticism*, 39–40.

<sup>20</sup>Reynolds and Wilson, *Scribes and Scholars*, 240.

<sup>21</sup>*Ibid.*, 240.

## Selection of readings for phylogenetic analysis

It has been argued that, for a phylogenetic analysis of manuscript texts to produce reliable results, the editor must carefully select the variants to be considered. In theory, only those variants that are ‘genealogical’ in nature should be included; variants that arise through coincidence, and not through copying, should be disregarded. In practice, this distinction is impossible to make with complete certainty in every case, and requires frequent editorial judgement. B. J. P. Salemans has set out a list of guidelines, meant to err on the side of restrictiveness, to choose ‘relationship-revealing’ variants.<sup>22</sup> The principle behind the guidelines is that no variant should be included for analysis if it is likely to arise from any source other than direct copying or scribal ‘error’, and any variant that represents scribal ‘error’ should be excluded if it is so conspicuous that subsequent scribes could easily correct it. He also recommends the exclusion of any reading that contains a variant attested by only one witness; if a variant appears only in a single witness, it serves only to set that witness apart from the rest, but does not hold any information about the specific relationship of that witness to any particular subset of the others.

The rules set out by Salemans are sufficiently restrictive that, were they applied to the text presented here, the parsimony model would not have enough data to construct a single family tree. It has been informally suggested to me that such a selection of variants makes little difference in practice;<sup>23</sup> were this demonstrated to be true, the task of the editor would be greatly eased. In order

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<sup>22</sup>B. J. P. Salemans, ‘Cladistics or the Resurrection of the Method of Lachmann’, in *Studies in Stemmatology*, ed. P. T. van Reenen, M. van Mulken, and J. W. Dyk (Amsterdam; Philadelphia: Benjamins, 1996), 3–70 at 6–22 and 29–32.

<sup>23</sup>Discussion with P. Robinson, April 2008.

to gain a sense of the difference that arises through judicious variant selection, I took four separate approaches:

1. All readings were considered, after spelling and orthographic normalisation.
2. Only readings with at least two variants, each attested by at least two witnesses, were considered (a 'strict' approach).
3. All variants that differ only by an *-ն* suffix (the Armenian definite article) were treated as identical readings. (The use of the definite article in medieval Armenian was often flexible and idiosyncratic; this is a very good example of the sort of variant that is just as likely to have arisen from scribal preference as from the reading in the exemplar.) After accounting for this change, all readings were considered.
4. All variants that differ only by an *-ն* suffix were treated as identical readings, and the 'strict' approach was applied.

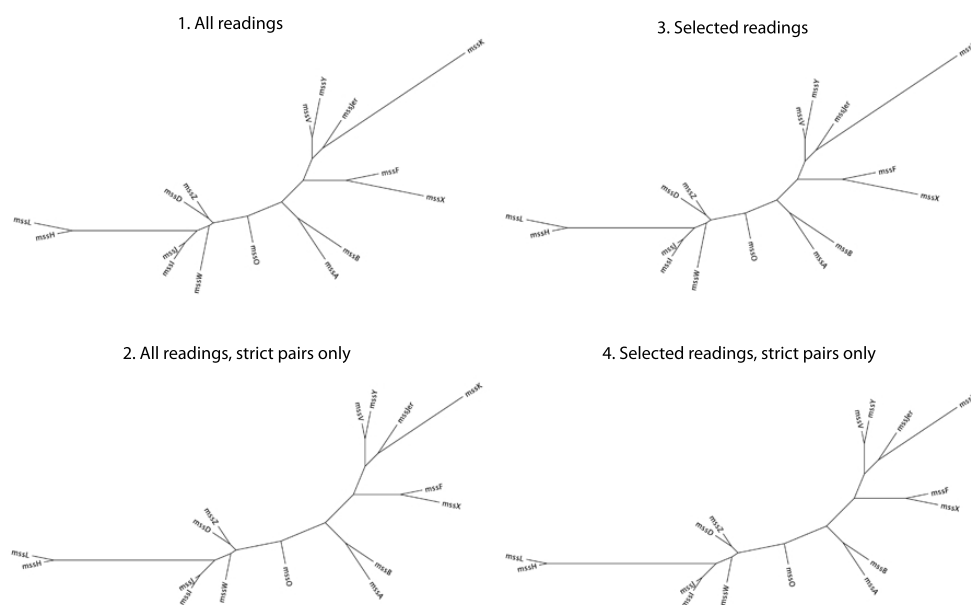
The results are strikingly consistent. When each of these four approaches are taken on the set of readings as a whole, or on any sufficiently large subset, the tree that results is topologically identical. Figure 3.7 shows the results of each approach, run on the text of both prophecies of Yovhannēs Kozērñ and the prologue to Book Two.<sup>24</sup> The trees that result from methods 3 and 4 (the exclusion of the 'non-genealogical' *-ն* variants) are almost exactly proportional to their counterparts 1 and 2. The 'strict' approach trees 2 and 4 differ slightly

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<sup>24</sup>The prologue to Book Three was excluded on the basis of the contamination detected in manuscript D; a separate analysis run on that prologue alone produced, in each case, a similar result to that shown in Figure 3.10.

in their relative branch lengths from their ‘non-strict’ counterparts, but the arrangement of branches is identical in each tree. Such consistency of result is very helpful to the editor, who may concentrate on the task of choosing a ‘best’ reading without also having to assess the genealogical value of each of the variants.

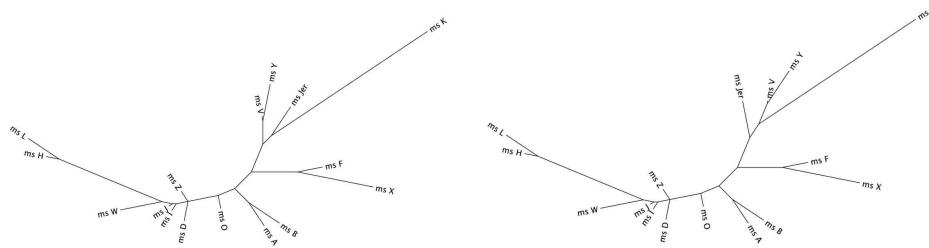
Figure 3.7: Comparison of variant selection techniques



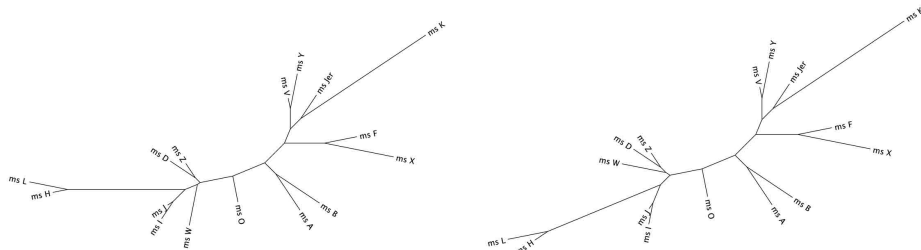
The results are also consistent across subsets of text. Figure 3.8 on page 60 shows the results of an analysis run on the prophecies alone, the prologue to Book Two alone, and the entire set of excerpts edited here. Neither the prophecies nor the prologue to Book Two provided enough text in themselves to allow the model to suggest a single tree, but in each case, one of the two suggestions is a good match for the tree produced from the sum of these texts. This not only demonstrates the reliability of the cladistic analysis model as

applied to the Chronicle; it also suggests that, at least within the text presented herein, the manuscripts are largely free of stemmatic contamination.

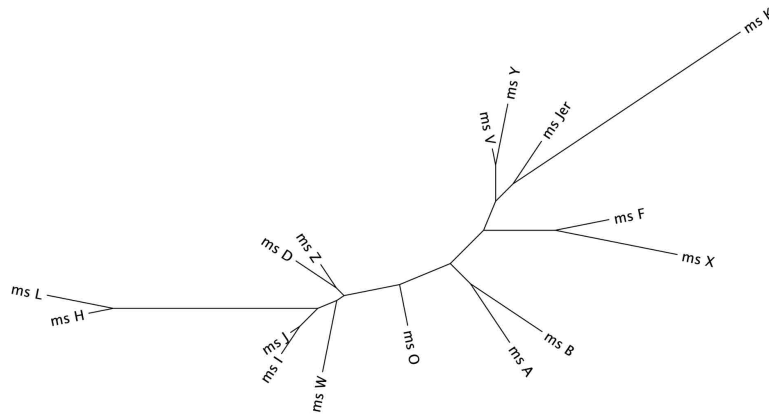
Figure 3.8: Comparison of variant selection techniques



Possible trees from the text of Book 2



Possible trees from the text of the prophecy



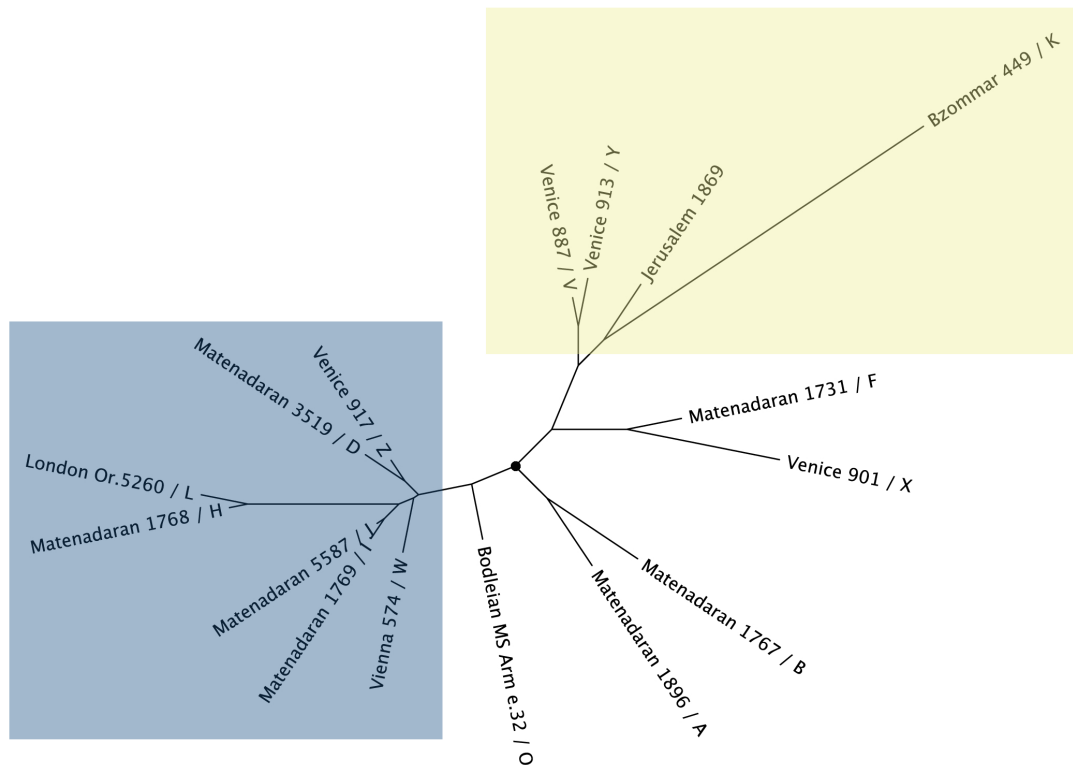
Tree based on the text of both prophecies and the prologue to Book Two

## **Analysis and results: stemma for the manuscripts of the Chronicle**

An analysis of the complete text within the fifteen manuscripts transcribed for the excerpt that appears here, plus the 1869 Jerusalem edition, produces the non-oriented tree in Figure 3.9. The statistical model postulates no explicit root, but a root may be understood at the point from which the large branches appear to originate. This point is marked on the figure by a large black dot. The length of each line represents its distance from this hypothetical root and from its nearest neighbour; in this model, one can see that manuscripts A, B, and O are closest to that root. The manuscripts highlighted in the yellow (lightly-shaded) box correspond to the ‘Jerusalem’ subset of the first group discussed on page 21, with distinctive chapter numberings; those in the blue (darkly-shaded) box correspond to the second group.

One of the peculiarities of phylogenetic analysis, which arises from the fact that it was developed for living biological species whose evolutionary ancestors are by definition extinct, is that the model assumes that no extant manuscript can be directly descended from any other extant manuscript. The editor must look for manuscripts that appear on relatively short branches, such as H, J, V, and Z; these short branches indicate a likelihood that the manuscripts on longer branches extending from them (in this case, L, I, Y, and D respectively) may have been directly copied from them. This hypothesis can be confirmed, or rejected, based on a more traditional direct comparison between the two manuscripts.

The other piece of information that cannot be used by the statistical model is the relative ages of the manuscripts. The branch lengths within a phylogenetic



tree give an indication of the time necessary for a given species to have diverged from its ancestor to the suggested extent; this calculation is based upon a calculation of the speed at which evolutionary changes may happen. That calculation has very little to do with the rate at which textual variation can be introduced into a manuscript—there is no reason to suppose that two manuscripts copied in the same year must show a similar level of variation from the hypothetical root. The editor must use his or her own judgement,



and any circumstantial details available about the manuscripts, to draw a more traditional stemma.

Given these constraints, let us evaluate the information contained in figure 3.9. Although manuscripts A and B appear to be very similar to each other, we know that A contains two passages that are absent from all other manuscripts, including B. Further examination of A shows that a gap was left in the manuscript for each of these two passages of text, which were filled in later; if these gaps were filled in from a different manuscript, the otherwise close affinity of A and B may then be explained. We may therefore postulate a lost manuscript  $\epsilon$ , from which both A and B were copied. The gaps would then have been filled in from another manuscript by the scribe of A; for the purposes of stemmatic simplification, we may take this to be the original text  $\alpha$ . The phylogenetic tree depends for its analysis upon characteristics whose variations are shared by at least two manuscripts; in this sense, the presence of our two excerpts in A reveals nothing about its specific relationship to the other manuscripts, which lack the excerpt. Given this, the 'root' of our tree may be taken to represent, not the original text  $\alpha$ , but a lacunary text  $\beta$  from which  $\epsilon$ , and all remaining texts, are descended.

The third manuscript that is relatively close to the root  $\beta$  is O; although it is somewhat more distant from A and B, its total distance from our postulated root is similar. This could indicate that all three were copied from the same source, but that the scribes of A and B took more care. This hypothesis would fit with the observation that O was copied by several different scribes, often in careless hands; it must be discarded, however, upon consideration of the manuscript F, which is a similar distance from the root manuscript  $\beta$  yet shows no evidence

of such carelessness. We therefore preserve our hypothesis that A and B are descended from a separate manuscript  $\epsilon$ , which like O and F descends from  $\beta$ .

Manuscripts A, B, and O, together with the portion of the tree to the right, represent the first group of non-truncated manuscripts. The subset of these manuscripts that are marked by explicit chapter numbering form a distinct subset, marked in yellow; the remaining branch contains manuscripts F and X. We have seen above that F appears to be a similar genealogical distance from  $\beta$  as A, B, and O. F is also relatively close to its 'common ancestor' with X—that is, the point at which the FX branch splits into two. When a branch of the phylogenetic tree has an unequal pair of branches such as F/X (or V/Y, H/L, and I/J, which will be discussed below), it is an indication to the editor that the manuscript on the shorter branch may in fact be the 'ancestor', and that the two manuscripts in question should be more closely compared. Such a comparison of F and X shows that, while X omits many readings not present in F, it does not preserve any that are omitted in F. There do exist readings in X that have been adopted as canonical despite variations in F; each of these readings, however, may easily be considered a variation in scribal practice or scribal correction of errors in the exemplar. We may therefore postulate that F (copied in 1617) served as the exemplar for X (copied in 1669).

A similar series of deductions may be made concerning the manuscripts V, Y, and K. The argument for the dependence of Y on V is straightforward. As in the case of F/X, V occupies a shorter branch than Y; a comparison of the manuscripts reveals no readings in Y that cannot be explained by the readings in V. Although I was able to obtain a copy of Y for partial inclusion in this edition, part of the digital copy, including the text of the prologue to Book

Three, is missing; this precludes a more complete comparison of V and Y. When a phylogenetic analysis is run that excludes this prologue, the distance between V and its common ancestor with Y shortens dramatically; this is provisional confirmation that V served as the exemplar for Y, and this is the solution that is adopted here.

The case for the relationship between K and Y is initially more difficult to deduce. The extremely long distance from K to the root of the tree reflects the frequent and substantial emendations in which K's scribe engaged. Edition of the text suggested, and the tree confirms, that K's exemplar belonged to this 'Jerusalem' group. Although the magnitude of variation in K makes it difficult to use phylogenetic data to easily establish the identity of K's exemplar, there exists at least one reading in V that is very unlikely to have arisen from regional or stylistic variation between scribes, and whose influence may be seen in K—this is the variant on line 102, page 288, in which the reading ալժմ (ayžm, 'now') appears in V, and the extended reading ալժմ բարեգործողաց (ayžm baregorcōlac, 'now from/to the beneficent ones') appears in K. We may thus tentatively postulate that K was copied from V.<sup>25</sup>

The text of the 1869 Jerusalem edition, after which the group in yellow is named, was also included in this analysis; its position in the stemma confirms its close relationship to the other members of that group. Without direct access to the manuscripts upon which this edition is based, however, no further deductions may be made concerning the exemplars for those manuscripts. This

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<sup>25</sup>It is also possible that K was copied from Y, but given the incomplete copy of Y in my possession, the link cannot be investigated.

relationship is represented on the stemma in Figure 3.11 with a link from  $\delta$ , an ancestor of V, to the Jerusalem edition itself.

The portion of the tree to the left of O, highlighted in blue, represents the loss of all entries after the report of a comet in October 1097; this is the defining characteristic of the second group. The oldest manuscript in this group is W, copied in 1601; the phylogenetic features of this branch suggest, however, that W is not the common ancestor for the group. This hypothesis is borne out by the presence of small lacunae in W that are not shared throughout the group. We can therefore postulate another missing ancestor,  $\gamma$ .

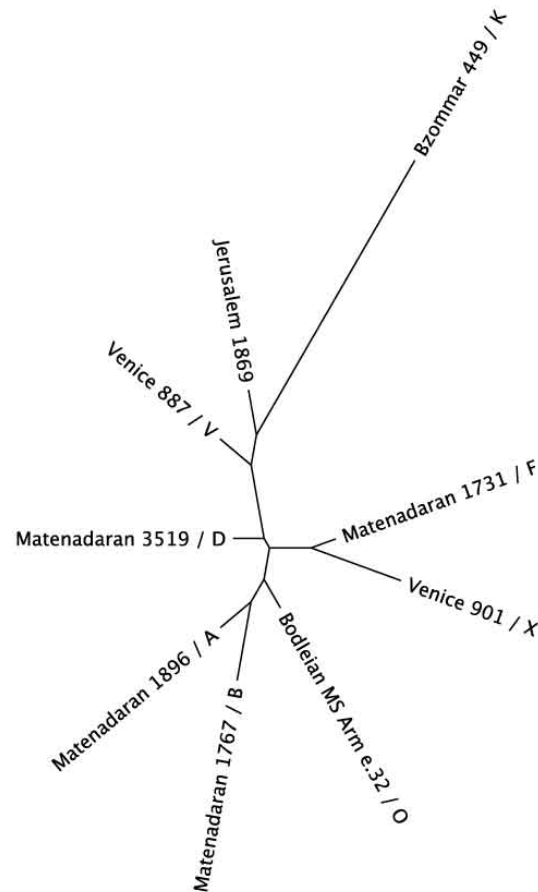
Four distinct branches may be seen from  $\gamma$ : W, I/J, H/L, and Z/D. The tree suggests a close relationship between I and J, and a very short branch from the 'common ancestor' to J. Such a short branch is a strong indication that J should be identified as the 'ancestor'. A close comparison of the two manuscripts confirms the strong similarity between the two texts, and the date of J (1617) is well before that of I (1664). Although it would be difficult for the human observer to conclude with reasonable certainty that I is a descendant of J, rather than simply a close cousin, the computational analysis makes the relationship clear.

The relationship of H and L is one of the few straightforward relationships that may be determined by traditional methods. They share a relatively long colophon at the end of the text, and L contains several of its own lacunae while failing to supply any reading omitted from H (which itself contains several lacunae, including the entirety of the first prophecy of Kozeřn.) The tree bears out these observations. The long line between H/L and its nearest neighbours reflect the frequently defective readings, and the short distance between H and its 'common ancestor' with L suggests that H itself is the ancestor. The only

uncertainty in this relationship arises from the limited knowledge we have of another manuscript, Matenadaran 3071. As noted on page 31, this manuscript contains a colophon identical to that of HL, and it is also known to omit the entirety of Kozern's first prophecy. There is no certain dating information for H, and the date range for Matenadaran 3071 (1651–61) places it, in all probability, before L. It is therefore possible that both H and L are descended from it. Were this the case, however, one might expect the tree to reflect somewhat more distance between H and its 'common ancestor' with L. Further examination of Matenadaran 3071 will be necessary in order to confirm the relationship, but the evidence so far suggests that it is, like L, a descendant of H, and that H must therefore have been copied before 1651.

The relationship between D and Z poses a particularly interesting problem. Although D has been provisionally assigned to the second group, its text is truncated rather later than that of the other members. One would therefore discount the possibility that any of the other manuscripts served as an exemplar for D. The phylogenetic tree suggests otherwise, however; based on its evidence, D and Z are very similar to each other. A comparison of the two texts bears this out. The distance between Z and the 'common ancestor' is rather larger than in the cases of H or J; this precludes an immediate identification of Z as that ancestor, although analysis of a larger set of text may yet confirm the relationship. If D was not copied directly from Z, it must have been copied from a relatively near ancestor. The similarity of distance between D, Z, W, and their common root suggests that all three could have been copied from  $\gamma$ ; the principle of simplification dictates that this be accepted for the stemma.

Figure 3.10: Phylogenetic relationships between manuscripts based on the prologue to Book Three



Nevertheless, the presence in D of text after the record of the comet in 1096 must be explained. A clue comes within D itself; a note is appended to the entry explaining that the exemplar ends at that point, despite the fact that the text continues on the following page. It appears that the scribe noted the truncation of his exemplar, and continued the text from another more complete exemplar. For the identification of this second exemplar, a second phylogenetic analysis must be run in isolation on a portion of the text that could not have come from

Z or its exemplar—that is, on the text of the prologue to Book Three. The results of that analysis may be seen in figure 3.10. Here, the readings in D situate it very close to the ABO root; the implication is that the last several entries within D may have been copied from  $\beta$  itself. This cannot be accepted with certainty, however. The text of the prologue to Book Three alone probably does not represent enough information to render the phylogenetic tree reliable, and the presence within D of chapter numberings such as those of the ‘Jerusalem’ subset (as described above, page 24) seem to suggest instead that this portion of the text of D arises from a manuscript within that group. A potential solution is that the scribe of D continued the text from a manuscript within the Jerusalem subset, and added the chapter numberings to the text he had already copied.

From the analysis given here, we may arrive at a stemma for these fifteen manuscripts and the Jerusalem edition; this stemma is shown in figure 3.11 on page 74. The direct stemmatic links deduced above are represented with solid lines; the dependence of manuscripts A and D on secondary exemplars is represented with a dotted line. The stemma also includes provisional placement for the three manuscripts that were included in the 1898 Vařarřapat edition but unavailable for this thesis. To determine these placements, I incorporated variants from these three manuscripts (where they were explicitly given in the apparatus to the Vařarřapat edition) into the cladistic analysis. This did not yield sufficient data to suggest an exact placement for all three manuscripts, although it confirmed that Matenadaran 3071 is closely related to manuscripts H and L. The various phylogenetic alternatives all placed the other two Vařarřapat manuscripts (2644 and 3520) very close to each other, and usually suggested that they belonged to the ‘Jerusalem’ group, although the models could not agree on

their precise position within that group. I have therefore tentatively assigned them to the parent for that group,  $\delta$ . The tentative nature of their placement is indicated by the alternating-dash line.

In a sense, the derivation of the stemma has become a problem in reverse. Traditional methods of textual criticism recommend the creation of a stemma, by which the editor may safely exclude certain manuscripts from consideration for a critical edition, before beginning the edition itself. This is not a good option for the Chronicle, or for any text with similar characteristics; the number of manuscripts and the lack of obvious clues concerning their provenance would have resulted in a very tentative stemma, in which very little confidence could be placed, and on the basis of which almost no manuscripts could be excluded.

Once a sufficient sample of the text has been collated and edited, however, stemmatic analysis becomes a practical possibility. This sample need not be large; it need only be large enough for a statistical analysis to produce a single possible tree. The entire Chronicle is approximately 80,000 words; the edited excerpt presented herein is 3500. From a sample of 1960 words—that is, the portion of the first prophecy present in multiple texts, and the entirety of the second prophecy and the prologue to Book Two—we were able to produce a single phylogenetic tree which was consistent both with the circumstantial data available about the manuscripts, and with the possibilities produced by larger or smaller subsets. This sample represents 2.5% of the whole text. The resulting stemma is based on much more thorough analysis of the available data, and is consequently of much more use, than the tentative stemma produced through traditional analysis of limited data.



## Conclusion

In this chapter I have given a detailed description of the methodology used to edit the text of the Chronicle of Matthew of Edessa. The techniques presented here are based on the large body of research that has been carried out in the field of textual criticism over the past twenty years. These techniques, particularly those of computer collation and of phylogenetic stemma analysis, have been indispensable given the great length of the text, and the large number of surviving witnesses, of the Chronicle. It nevertheless remains the case that the available techniques have not been well integrated into a single suite of tools, and some of the existing tools (most notably Peter Robinson's COLLATE) have fallen into obsolescence. In the process of editing the Chronicle, I have implemented these best-practice techniques within my own software package, Encritic.

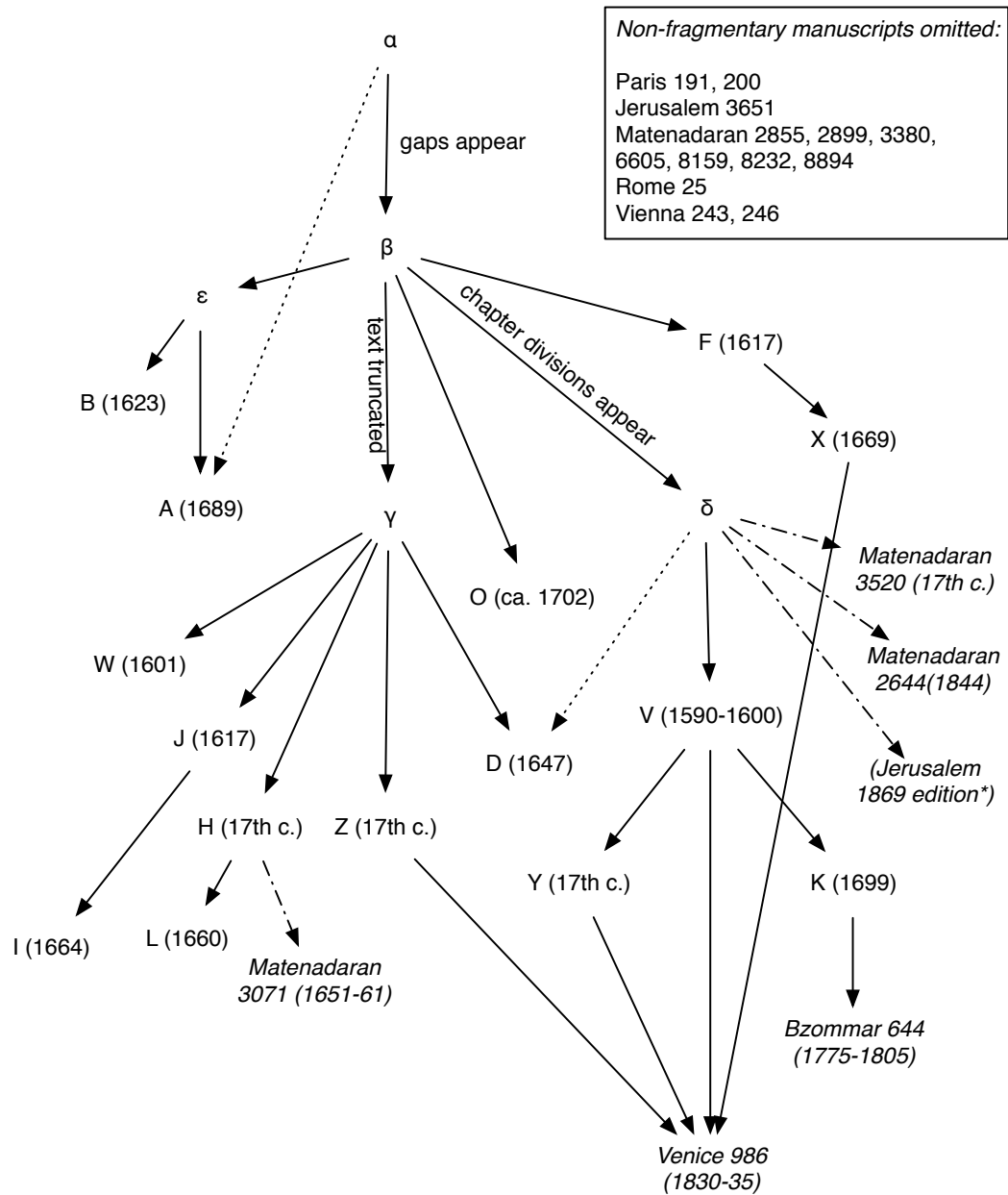
I set out here four stages of textual criticism—transcription, collation, edition, and stemmatic analysis—and described the process I have employed for each of them. Transcription of manuscript texts remains a time-consuming process; although TEI XML has become the clear standard for text transcription, the nature of XML renders the actual task of transcription onerous and error-prone, and there is not yet an ideal tool to ease this task. I have here described my own method, which has the advantage of efficiency and quick keying, but suffers from the need for the user to adopt two parallel vocabularies—one for TEI XML itself and one for the transcription sigils employed to represent the XML tags.

The other stages are more easily handled in software. Given a set of XML files that represent manuscript transcriptions, Encritic's collation mode will run an algorithm to collate the transcribed texts, and store the results as a series of readings in a new XML file. Its edition mode presents these readings for the judgement of the editor, recording his or her editing decisions and any notes necessary for elucidation of the readings. The software minimises the number of editorial decisions necessary, and does away with the need to re-key the text or to manually format a critical apparatus. Publication, both in print and online, is handled through programmatic interpretation of the 'edition' file. The core aim of Encritic is to remove the need for the editor to undertake repetitive or mechanical tasks that do not require linguistic comprehension or editorial judgement.

The new-found ease of text collation and edition also makes it possible to revisit the question of stemmatic analysis, which is otherwise a difficult problem for texts with a large and complex transmission history, using phylogenetic methods borrowed from evolutionary biology. This solution requires that a representative sample of text, drawn from every available manuscript that cannot be excluded by traditional means, be collated and edited; in the case of the Chronicle, it was sufficient to edit less than 3% of the text. The phylogenetic tree is not itself a stemma, however, and it does not in itself render prior stemmatic conclusions 'right' or 'wrong'. The construction of the stemma remains subject to editorial judgment, and to consideration of all features of the manuscripts that can be observed. The results of that editing process can then be used to construct a full stemma, which may in turn be consulted in preparation for an edition of the full text. This is a significantly more time-

consuming process, but its reward is confidence in the result. Each manuscript has been examined in detail; it has been subjected to objective statistical analysis; the results of that analysis may be presented to the reader, and the editor's decisions understood. In that sense, the edition is as reliable as an edition can possibly be, and is significantly more reliable than any edition that might have been produced by pre-computational methods.

Figure 3.11: Stemma of available manuscripts and the Jerusalem 1869 edition of the Chronicle



## **Chapter 4**

# **The new age of prophecy: the Chronicle's place in Armenian historiography**

At the time that Matthew wrote the Chronicle, Edessa was a majority-Christian city, populated primarily by Syrians and Armenians. During his lifetime it had been ruled by Byzantine governors, Armenian magnates caught between rival Byzantine and Muslim powers, and Latin Crusaders. He was consequently in a very good position to compose a history that set out the roles that the Armenian people had played in the events of the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

Matthew explains in the preface to Book Two that, for a long time, he had wished 'to write down for a future era the violent massacres, this dreadful wrath, which this Armenian people bore at the hands of the...Turks, and their Roman brothers.' In order to do this, he says, he gathered information about 'the three races'; the Chronicle he produced treats many more than three races. He

touches upon the history of Armenians, Byzantines, Turks, Arabs, Georgians, Syrians, Latins, and Slavs. His work extends in its geographical scope to the limits of his known universe, yet it remains a text that reflects his distinctly Armenian outlook and philosophy of history. The way in which he arranged historical information in these books, and the explanations of his world-view given in his interludes, tell the reader much about the work he envisioned, his philosophy of history, and the difficulties he encountered in composing the text he intended to write.

The inclusive nature of Matthew's work—the attention he gives to all of the foreign peoples who had an influence on the Armenians—is well within the bounds of Armenian historiography from the seventh century onward.<sup>1</sup> The perspective that it represents, and the Armeno-centric interpretation that is given to events that had no direct relevance to Armenians, has turned the Chronicle into one of the most valuable sources for the history of Syria, Mesopotamia, and the Caucasus region. The danger of such wide relevance is that the scholar who is not an Armenian specialist is tempted to treat the Chronicle as a straightforward account of the events in these regions, and in particular to assume that Matthew, as neither a Latin nor a Greek participant, will have been relatively objective. A good, though dated, example of this tendency may be seen in Runciman's *History of the Crusades*. He describes Matthew as 'a naïve man with a hatred for the Greeks and no great love for those of his compatriots who were Orthodox in religion. Much of his information about the Crusade must have been derived from some ignorant

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<sup>1</sup>For a discussion of the need of Armenian historians to broaden their scope, see J.-P. Mahé, 'Entre Moïse et Mahomet: Réflexions sur l'historiographie Arménienne', *Revue des études arméniennes* 23 (1992): 121–53 at 132.

Frankish soldier; but about events in his native city and its neighbourhood he was very well informed.<sup>2</sup> Runciman, and many subsequent scholars of the Crusades who have not specialised in Armenian history or literature, use the Chronicle primarily as independent corroboration of other histories where they use it at all, and appear to take much of Matthew's information at face value.<sup>3</sup> This has been nearly unavoidable to date—there is very little scholarship in the West specifically about Matthew or his Chronicle, and the lack of a critical edition renders the existing translations unreliable. Nevertheless, a literary interpretation of the Chronicle is sorely needed. Matthew was an Armenian monk in Edessa who claimed not to be a scholar; even if this claim simply reflects a common historiographical *topos*, it must be considered. His interpretation of events in Constantinople, Baghdad, Tiflis, Jerusalem, or Edessa itself cannot be taken at face value. It must be understood in light of the philosophy of the Armenian historiographical tradition he was trying to follow, and the effect that philosophy had on Matthew's judgements of the actors in his history.

In this chapter, I shall set out the parameters of Armenian historiography within which Matthew worked, and demonstrate that his Chronicle was a logical extension of that historiographic tradition. His goal was to illustrate the truth of the Biblical conception of Armenian history: God's children had strayed from righteousness; they were to be punished for the errors of their ways, but they could look forward to eventual redemption through God's mercy. The

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<sup>2</sup>S. Runciman, *A History of the Crusades* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1954), vol. 1 pp. 334–5.

<sup>3</sup>e.g. J. Riley-Smith, *The First Crusaders, 1095–1131* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 170; J. Riley-Smith, *The First Crusade and the Idea of Crusading* (London: The Athlone Press, 1995); J. France, *Victory in the East: A Military History of the First Crusade* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), in which more substantial use is made of Matthew's account.

instrument through which Matthew worked was prophecy. I shall introduce the central prophecy of the Chronicle, and show how it became the skeleton on which the text as a whole was built.

## Armenian historical philosophy

Matthew restates his aim in his prologue to Book Three: he 'saw that no one had the intention to investigate [recent history] or to collect records, to provide for future times a record of these massacres and tribulations for the good times, when the Lord God will fulfil his promise of the end time, when He will give to the faithful the era that will truly be full of every joy.'<sup>4</sup> This statement places Matthew firmly in an established tradition of Armenian historiography, in which the history of the Armenian people was viewed as the continuation of the Biblical history of the chosen people of God, and in which the reverses that the Armenians suffered represented divine chastisement that would eventually be followed by the divine restoration of Armenian fortunes.

A concise and valuable guide to Armenian historiography and its development from the fifth century on has been given by J.P. Mahé.<sup>5</sup> His premise can be summarised here as follows. The Armenian language was first given a written form in the beginning of the fifth century, nearly a century after Armenia's conversion to Christianity. The earliest Armenian historian, Koriwn, gave in his *Life of Maštoc* 'a philosophy of history that viewed the Bible, and in particular the Old Testament, as a document of the history of God's chosen people. With the

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<sup>4</sup>Matthew of Edessa, *Žamanakagrut 'iwn* (1898), 277–8.

<sup>5</sup>Mahé, 'Entre Moïse et Mahomet'.



advent of the Christian era, the history of the new chosen people of God—that is, the Christians, and in this instance the Armenian Christians—was a legitimate extension of the Scripture they had inherited through their conversion. The Armenian historians who followed Koriwn adopted this philosophy of history in their own works. The shocks of the seventh-century Arab conquest, and in particular the capture of Jerusalem in 638, forced the Armenian historians to account for the rise of this new power. Their histories perforce became universal in both chronological and geographical scope, in contrast to the tendency to focus on Armenia alone that had prevailed in fifth- and sixth-century works of history.<sup>6</sup>

The philosophy of history that developed in the seventh and eighth centuries needed to account for the fact that the ‘infidel’ Arabs had a lasting hold on Jerusalem and most of the former Christian Orient, and that this sustained dominance could not be in opposition to God’s will. An explanation was proposed by an anonymous seventh-century historian (Pseudo-Sebēos): the Christians had forfeited their possession of the Holy Land through their sinfulness, just as the Jews had earlier done through their rejection of Christ. The Muslim Arabs, considered by tradition to be the descendants of Abraham through his illegitimate son Ishmael, had pleased God with their discipline and their abstemious behaviour. Although they were not the true chosen people of God, they had been temporarily rewarded with possession of Abraham’s patrimony,

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<sup>6</sup>This universality partially arose from an attempt to fit the events of recent history into an apocalyptic framework, such as the vision of Daniel, which appears in many later Armenian histories including that of Matthew and that attributed to Sebēos. For the apocalyptic perspective of pseudo-Sebēos, see T. Greenwood, ‘Sasanian Echoes and Apocalyptic Expectations: A Re-evaluation of the Armenian History Attributed to Sebeos’, *Le Muséon* 115/4 (2002): 323–97 at 375–88.

which they would be allowed to keep so long as they retained these virtues. By the eighth century, the historian Lewond could argue that the Muslims had forfeited this claim. He based his argument on an agreement between the katholikos Sahak III and the Arab governor Muhammad ibn Marwan: as long as the Muslims kept their promise to protect their Armenian subjects and respect their faith, God would allow them their domination over the Christian lands. The persecution of the Christians that followed during the eighth century, and the violent suppression of Armenian revolts, allowed Lewond to predict the eventual liberation of Armenia from Muslim rule. That liberation came in 884, with the crowning of Ašot I Bagratuni as king of the Armenians, recognised by both the Muslim caliph and the Byzantine emperor. The philosophy of Armenian history was thereby vindicated. The historians of the tenth century in particular often followed the lead of Movses Xorenac‘i<sup>7</sup> in writing a history of the world from Adam to the present, in which the author drew on the genealogical information in the Bible, in the Greek-language histories of Eusebius, Josephus, and others, and in the earlier Armenian tradition to show the development of the region in which he wrote, be it the Bagratuni kingdom, the Arcruni kingdom of Vaspurakan, the principality of Siwnik‘, or elsewhere.

By the end of the eleventh century, Armenian fortunes had suffered a grievous reverse. The Armenian kingdoms had lost their independence; the primary kingdom of Ani was annexed to the Byzantine empire in 1045, and the

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<sup>7</sup>The dating of the history of Xorenac‘i has been hotly debated. The author himself claimed to be writing his work in the fifth century; certain features of the text, and the fact that it had a huge influence on Armenian historians after the eighth century but not before, suggest an eighth-century dating. See, e.g., N. Garsoïan, ‘L’Histoire attribuée à Movsēs Xorenac‘i: Que reste-t-il à en dire?’, *Revue des études arméniennes* 29 (2003–4): 29–48. For the purposes of his argument, Mahé treats the history of Xorenac‘i as an eighth-century text.

Byzantines had proved unable to defend it against the invasions of the Saljuq Turks. The task of the Armenian historians who followed, beginning with the *vardapet*<sup>8</sup> Aristakēs of Lastivert, was to make sense of this new calamity in the context of the historiographical tradition that had developed. Robert Thomson has explored the question of how Aristakēs came to terms with this disaster, and the way in which he drew on the lessons of the Old Testament and the tradition of Armenian historiography to explain what had occurred.<sup>9</sup>

In keeping with these traditions, Aristakēs attributed the recent misfortunes of the Armenian people to their own sins. Like Pseudo-Sebēos and Lewond had to do regarding the Arabs, Aristakēs needed to account for the seemingly unstoppable success of the Turks; unlike his predecessors, he had no theory of Turkish descent from Abraham with which to work. He instead rejected the concept of predestination entirely. This is perhaps the most noteworthy feature of his history, according to Thomson; he refrains from the suggestion that the Armenians' misfortunes were unavoidable, and he likewise refrains from predictions of future salvation. His message is one of admonition: if the Armenians wish for an end to their troubles, they need only repent their sins.

For a contrast to Aristakēs, and as a representative of more 'traditional' patterns of Armenian historical philosophy, Thomson turns to Matthew of Edessa. Of Matthew's interpretation of history, he says, 'The prophets predicted various happenings, which duly occurred. The Turkish invasions were thus inevitable. But they do not hold any further significance; they are not regarded

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<sup>8</sup>A *vardapet* is an Armenian clerical scholar; there is almost no evidence of a tradition of secular scholarship within Armenia at this time. The thirteenth-century author Mxit'ar Goš discussed their training and duties in his law code; see Goš, Mxit'ar, *The Lawcode (Datastanagirk')* of Mxit'ar Goš, vol. 6, ed. R. W. Thomson (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2000), 43–6.

<sup>9</sup>Thomson, 'Aristakes of Lastivert', 83.

as a trial or punishment which will induce the Armenians to repent and mend their ways.<sup>10</sup> Matthew's use of prophecy is the means by which he explains the inexplicable disaster of the Turkish invasions, and by which he promises a brighter future for the Armenians. This is more in keeping with the traditions of Lewond, who also rejected the notion that the Muslims were the chosen people of God, and provided the comforting prediction of the total restoration of Christian power in the future. The use of prophecy in the Chronicle, however, is much more than a means of describing recent calamity; as we will see, it is the key to understanding the entire narrative thrust of the Chronicle.

## The prophecies of Yovhannēs Kozeṛn

Although Matthew made frequent references to prophecies throughout his text,<sup>11</sup> the two most prominent, as Thomson notes, are the ones attributed to Yovhannēs Kozeṛn. These prophecies are the vision at the core of Matthew's understanding of the history of the Armenians and of the world around them. The second prophecy in particular provides the basic outline of which the remainder of the Chronicle is an elaboration.

Very little is known about the eleventh-century *vardapet* Yovhannēs Kozeṛn, also known as Yovhannēs Tarōnec'i.<sup>12</sup> Aristakēs includes him among the notable intellectuals who were active during the reign of Gagik I Bagratuni, in

<sup>10</sup>Thomson, 'Aristakes of Lastivert', 85.

<sup>11</sup>There are several references to the prophecy of St. Nersēs, which itself was based on the vision of Daniel: Matthew of Edessa, *Žamanakagrut 'iwn* (1898), 220, 253, 267. See also p. 275 for a prophecy from the Book of Jeremiah and p. 301 for the prophecy of the contemporary holy man Mark the Hermit.

<sup>12</sup>Ačaṙyan, *Hayoc' Anjnanunneri Baṙaran*, vol. 3 pp. 566–7, no. 136; Y. K'iwrtēan, 'Yovhannēs Vardapet Kozeṛn', *Handes Amsorya* 81/1–3 (1967): 1–16.

the first two decades of the eleventh century; he is credited with authorship of a book of faith.<sup>13</sup> Although Aristakēs makes no mention of other works, Kozeṛn is known to have written 'Commentaries on the Calendar'<sup>14</sup> and a history of the Bagratunis at the request of the katholikos Petros Getadarj.<sup>15</sup> The majority of Kozeṛn's history has been lost; only a few initial pages have been preserved in Matenadaran manuscript 1775.<sup>16</sup> The prophecies themselves have survived independently in several manuscripts as well as being preserved within the Chronicle; an edition was produced in 1895 by Nikolai I. Marr.<sup>17</sup>

Apart from the prophecies, Kozeṛn appears on two occasions in Matthew's own Chronicle. He is first introduced as one of the Armenian scholars whom Basil II consulted at the time of the Easter dispute of 1007;<sup>18</sup> he is also named among the Armenian contingent, headed by the katholikos Petros, who paid a high-profile visit to Basil during his Eastern campaign, as the emperor wintered near Trebizond in January 1022.<sup>19</sup>

His first prophecy is recorded for the year 478 (1029/30), after an astrological omen had been witnessed in Armenia and king Yovhannēs had sent his noblemen to seek an explanation from Kozeṛn. His message was dire: the eclipse marked 1000 years since the baptism of Christ, and the thousand-year imprisonment of Satan<sup>20</sup> was now at an end. Satan would now begin his

<sup>13</sup>Aristakēs of Lastivert, *Patmut'iwñ Aristakisi Lastivertc'woy*, ed. K. N. Yuzbašyan (Yerevan: Haykakan SSR Gitut'iunneri Akademiayi Hratarakč'ut'yun, 1963), 26.

<sup>14</sup>K'iwrtēan, 'Yovhannēs Vardapet Kozeṛn', 7–11.

<sup>15</sup>One explanation of Aristakēs' failure to mention Kozeṛn's own history may be that, as he was describing the intellectual activity that flourished during the reign of Gagik I, he restricted his list to those activities in which the *vardapets* engaged during that period.

<sup>16</sup>Polarean, *Hay Groṭner*, 174–5.

<sup>17</sup>See Xaç'ikyan, 'Yakob Sanahnec'i', 24.

<sup>18</sup>Matthew of Edessa, *Žamanakagrut'iwñ* (1898), 44.

<sup>19</sup>Ibid., 50.

<sup>20</sup>c.f. Revelation 20:1 ff.

ascendancy; men would fall into sin; the anger of God would be aroused and the Christians would be punished.

The second prophecy is recorded for the year 485 (1036/7). Again, an eclipse had been seen; again, the king and the katholikos Petros sent the Armenian noblemen, including Grigor Pahlawuni and Sargis Haykazn, to seek an explanation from Kozern. His response explained the radical change in fortunes that the Armenians were to undergo over the course of the next hundred years. He began by re-iterating that the thousand-year imprisonment of Satan was at an end; the institutions of the Christian church would weaken, and the Christians themselves would fall into impiety, sin, and schism. The Turkish invasions would follow shortly thereafter:

Hereafter there are invasions by foreigners, the cursed sons of K'am, the filthy forces of the Turks, upon the Christian nations, and all the earth is consumed by the edge of the sword. All the nations of the faithful in Christ pass through sword and captivity. Many districts become depopulated. The power of the saints will disappear from the earth. Many churches are razed to their foundations. The mystery of Christ's cross will be suppressed. As impiety proliferates, the feast days of the saints will be suppressed. Sons are provoked against fathers, fathers develop hatred toward sons, brothers will arise against each other, through murder and bloodshed they strive to destroy one another. They deny the compassion and love of brotherhood, the blood of their brotherhood will dry up, and thus through their deeds they become like the infidel. And the land is troubled by infidel nations, and the plants of the field are clothed in bloody dew, and for 60 years the earth will be desolated through sword and captivity.

And then the nation of valiant ones will come, known as Franks, and with a multitude of troops they will take the holy city Jerusalem, and the holy tomb that held God is freed from captivity.

And after this the earth is ravaged for 50 years by the forces of the Persians through sword and captivity, and [it will be] seven times

more than what the faithful have already suffered, and all the nations of the faithful in Christ will be terrified.<sup>21</sup>

Gradually, according to the prophecy, the native forces would begin to strengthen themselves, until 'the Roman emperor, as if awakened from sleep' came forward to drive the Persians out, and to usher in a long period of peace and prosperity for the Christians.

As Thomson has noted briefly, the language in the prophecy has unmistakable parallels to the pseudo-Methodian Apocalypse, and in particular to the description of the 'Last World Emperor'.<sup>22</sup> The Apocalypse attributed to Methodius of Olympus was written in the late seventh century around the region of Sinjar in Syria,<sup>23</sup> probably by a member of the Melkite church.<sup>24</sup> It was translated from Syriac into Greek, and thence into Latin, where it gained wide circulation. Although the text has a Melkite, and thus Chalcedonian, origin, and may have had a place in anti-monophysite polemic of the seventh century,<sup>25</sup> it contains nothing that is overtly Christologically offensive to monophysite readers.

The Apocalypse has an uncertain history within Armenian literature. An Armenian translation was known to the thirteenth-century author Step'anos Orbelian, who reproduced a portion of it in his own history.<sup>26</sup> It had been

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<sup>21</sup>See translation below, p. 297.

<sup>22</sup>Thomson, 'Concept of History', 97.

<sup>23</sup>S. Brock, 'Syriac Sources for Seventh-Century History', *Byzantine and modern Greek studies* 2 (1976): 17–36.

<sup>24</sup>S. Brock, 'Studies on the First Century of Islamic Society', in *Syriac Perspectives on Late Antiquity*, ed. G. H. A. Juynboll (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1982), 9–21.

<sup>25</sup>G. J. Reinink, 'Ps. Methodius' Concept of History', chap. 4, in *The Byzantine and Early Islamic Near East I: Problems in the Literary Source Material*, ed. A. Cameron and L. I. Conrad (Princeton, NJ: Darwin Press, 1992), 149–87.

<sup>26</sup>Orbelian, Step'anos, *Histoire de la Siounie*, trans. M. F. Brosset (St. Petersburg, 1864–6), 89–94.

translated by the eighth-century bishop Step'anos Siwnec'i, but no complete text survives in Armenian. Its influence can only be guessed through similarity to the text of prophecies such as Kozeṛn's. Even if one looks at the text as it has been preserved in the Syriac, however, the broad parallels are clear. According to the Methodian prophecy:

...then suddenly the pangs of affliction as [those] of a woman in travail will be awakened against them and the king of the Greeks will go out against them in great wrath and 'awake like a man who has shaken off his wine'<sup>27</sup>, who was considered by them as dead. He will go out against them from the sea of the Ethiopians and will cast desolation and destruction in the desert of Yathrib and in the habitation of their fathers. And the sons of the king of the Greeks will descend from the western regions and will destroy by the sword the remnant that is left of them in the land of promise.

And fear will fall upon them from all sides. And they and their wives and their sons and their leaders and all their camps in the land of the desert of their fathers will be delivered into the power of the king of the Greeks. And they will be surrendered to the sword and to destruction and to captivity and to slaughter.

And the yoke of their servitude will be seven times more severe than their own yoke. And they will be in a hard affliction from hunger and from exhaustion. And they will be slaves, they and their wives and their sons. And they will serve as slaves to those who were serving them. And their servitude will be a hundred times more bitter than theirs.

And the land which was desolated of its inhabitants will find peace. And the remnant that is left will return, everyone to his land and to the inheritance of his fathers: Cappadocia and Armenia and Cilicia and Isauria and Africa and Hellas and Sicily. And the entire remnant that is left over from the captives and which was in the servitude of the captivity, everyone will return to his country and to the house of his father.

And man will multiply like locusts on the land which had been laid waste. And Egypt will be laid waste and Arabia will burn and the

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<sup>27</sup>c.f. Psalms 78:65.



land of Hebron will be laid waste and the tongue of the sea will be pacified. And all the wrath and anger of the king of the Greeks will be vented upon those who had denied Christ. And there will be a great peace upon the earth, as there has never been, because this is the last peace of the ending of the world.<sup>28</sup>

Direct echoes of this prophecy may easily be seen in the second prophecy attributed to Kozeïn:

Then as if waking from sleep the king of the Romans arises and comes like an eagle against the Persian forces with a fearful multitude like sand on the shore of the sea. He will come inflamed like fire, and out of fear of him all creatures tremble, and the Persians and all the foreign forces shall take their flight to the other side of the great Gihon river.

And then the Roman king will take and rule the whole land for many years; and all the earth will receive renewal, and the foundation for building will be laid, and thus it will be renewed like after the flood. The offspring of men and beasts multiply, fountains will gush forth streams of water, the fields bear more fruit than before. And thereafter famine will fall on the Persian land for many years, until they attack and consume each other. And out of fear of the might of the Roman king many Persian princes will leave their cities and districts, and will take flight without a battle to the other side of the Gihon river. And [the Romans] will take all their collections of gold and silver accumulated over many years, and all the multitude of treasures [heaped up] like dirt or piles of stones in such measure, from the Persian land, and bear them off them to the Roman land. And they will take all the boys and girls and women to the Roman land in captivity. The nation of the Persians will become desolate and depopulated by the forces of the Romans, and all the sovereignty of the earth will settle in the hand of the Roman king.<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>28</sup>Pseudo-Methodius, *Die syrische Apokalypse des Pseudo-Methodius*, vol. 540–1, ed. G. J Reinink (Leuven: Peeters, 1993), XIII.11–15. The majority of the translation is taken from Reinink, ‘Ps. Methodius’ Concept of History’, 149–52. The remainder is my own translation from the German, with reference to the Syriac.

<sup>29</sup>See translation below, p. 298.

The language of the earlier parts of the prophecies do retain an echo of pseudo-Methodian symbolism,<sup>30</sup> but this direct correlation to the prophecy of the 'Last World Emperor' raises some intriguing questions concerning the influence that the Methodian text had on the Armenian scholars of the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries. An influence can be seen in the language of Matthew's own interludes, where he speaks of 'the era [promised by God to the faithful for the future] that will truly be full of every joy', and states his determination to finish his history for the benefit of those who will live in that era.<sup>31</sup>

The concrete timeline of events incorporated into the prophecy that Matthew records—sixty years of Turkish oppression to end with the Crusader capture of Jerusalem—is clearly a later addition to the eleventh-century text of Kozern. If one sets aside these sixty years, the text of the prophecy is a classic apocalyptic vision, with a safe round interval of fifty years during which the Christians are to suffer. It is not impossible that Kozern himself adopted the Methodian Apocalypse for the occasion of the thousandth anniversary of the Crucifixion, and that the text that Matthew preserves includes an interpolation, rather than a full extension.

It is difficult to judge the authorship of the non-original parts of the prophecy. Matthew's claim not to be educated must be taken seriously; although the modesty *topos* is as common in Armenian colophons as elsewhere, Matthew's text reads as if it was written by one who, acutely conscious of his own deficiencies, feels he must justify his efforts in spite of them. It must be accepted

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<sup>30</sup>Thomson, 'Aristakes of Lastivert', 86 n. 46.

<sup>31</sup>See text below, p. 302.

that he probably did lack a very high level of education, although his apparent familiarity with the forms of Armenian historiography suggests that he was not entirely uneducated. He writes in the prologue to Book Three that ‘we have spoken thus in front of rhetors and philosophers and deeply wise and well-versed researchers, and we have recommended our text to them, so that they might cast it into the furnace and make an examination, and we do not oppose this because we have no antagonism against the knowledgeable.’<sup>32</sup> Given the scholarly assistance that he evidently did seek, it might naturally be supposed that one aspect of this assistance might have been the provision of an extended version of Kozern’s prophecy. On the other hand, Matthew demonstrates through the very authorship of the Chronicle that he is more educated than he pretends; the possibility cannot be discounted that it is at least partially his own work.

The date of the prophecy is almost certainly Matthew’s own placement. An eclipse is recorded by Aristakes, not for the year 485 (1036/7), but for 482 (1033/4).<sup>33</sup> Although Aristakes has placed the event during the reign of Michael, which did not begin until April 1034, an annular solar eclipse did occur on 29 June 1033 that covered the whole of Europe, northern Africa, and the western half of Asia. The date of this eclipse puts Kozern’s claim that ‘today 1000 years have passed since the tortures of the crucifixion of Christ’<sup>34</sup> directly in line with the traditional calculation of the years since the birth of Christ. The prophecy must therefore have originally belonged to the year 482;

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<sup>32</sup>Matthew of Edessa, *Žamanakagrut ʿiwn* (1898), 279.

<sup>33</sup>Aristakēs, *Patmut ʿiwn*, 49.

<sup>34</sup>See translation below, p. 294.

Matthew's placement of it in 485 gives a round number of sixty years until the First Crusade.

## **The prophecy fulfilled: the structure of the Chronicle**

The visions of Turkish invasion, Crusader arrival, and slow Christian strengthening expressed in the second prophecy form the narrative core of the entire Chronicle. The first book ends in the year 500 (1051/2), at which point Matthew introduces himself to the reader. L. Xaç'ikyan has made a case for very close links between the texts of Matthew, the version of Kozern's prophecies that has survived independently (as published by N. Marr), and a few extant fragments of the lost Chronicle of Yakob Sanahnec'i.<sup>35</sup> The importance of the second prophecy (whose text does not appear in the extant fragments of Sanahnec'i) to the structure of the Chronicle, together with the frequent appearances of Kozern himself in the text, suggests that Kozern's view of history was a major influence on Matthew's own. This could in turn explain why Matthew has used Kozern's prophecy—as extended by an unknown hand—to help frame the course of history before and after 1051.

The prophecy divides history into four distinct phases—the pre-invasion period, the sixty years of Turkish conquest, the fifty years of Persian dominance, and the period after which the 'Roman emperor' has risen, driven out the Persians, and inaugurated the promised period of renewed Christian rule. The Chronicle sets out to cover the first two of these, and most of the third. The books of the Chronicle are divided in a numerically neat fashion; although

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<sup>35</sup>Xaç'ikyan, 'Yakob Sanahnec'i', 22–47.

there is a rough correlation, they do not exactly fit these three phases. Book One portrays the apogee of the independent Armenian kingdoms, and the Byzantine empire at its height. The first prophecy of Kozeṛn is set shortly after the events that set in motion the loss of Armenian independence—the appearance of the Turks in Vaspurakan, the Arcruni emigration to Sebasteia, and the eastern campaign by Basil II against Gēorg of Georgia in which the Bagratuni king Yovhannēs-Smbat willed his kingdom to the empire after his death. For literary and rhetorical purposes, Matthew has altered the years of the deaths of Basil II, Gēorg of Georgia, and Senek‘erim Arcruni, setting them in the year of this grave prophecy. In the years immediately following the ‘main’ prophecy of 485 (1036/7), he describes the quarrels between the various pro- and anti-Byzantine factions within the Armenian nobility that would bring about the fall of the kingdom of Ani in 1045, when the emperor Constantine Monomachos summoned Yovhannēs’ young nephew and successor Gagik II to Constantinople and pressured him into giving up his kingdom. After the fall of Ani, the book shows the beginning of the Byzantine attempts to integrate the Armenian church into the Constantinopolitan one, which led to religious disputes and to a focus on the schism that had existed between the two churches since the Armenian rejection of the council of Chalcedon in 607. All of this elaborates the text of the prophecy: ‘[The rulers and princes] govern and rule for [earthly] recognition and not according to God. ...Henceforth many schisms [will] enter the church of God through the idleness of the patriarchs, because they grow feeble and weaken and fail to make an examination of their faith and are distracted.’ Matthew describes the first sustained appearance of the Saljuq

Turks in the closing entries of the book: their sack of the city of Arcn, and the battle of Kaputru that followed.

Concerning the appearance of the Turks in Anatolia, the prophecy called for sixty years during which ‘the earth will be desolated by sword and captivity’, and the Christians would ‘strive to destroy one another through murder and bloodshed...and through their deeds they become companions of the infidel.’ These were the years 1036–96; the bulk of them are covered in Book Two, and the themes of internecine strife and devastation in the wake of Turkish raids are its primary focus. Matthew covers the persecution of emigrant Armenians at the hands of their new Byzantine neighbours, and the escalating Byzantine pressure on the Armenian church to conform to the Chalcedonian orthodoxy of Constantinople. This is set against a backdrop of continual Turkish attacks in the east, which culminated in the sack of the old Armenian capital of Ani in 1064 and in the catastrophic Byzantine defeat at the 1071 battle of Manzikert. He also gives an account of the rise of the ‘infidel and most wicked prince’<sup>36</sup> Philaretos, who was the first of the Armenian magnates to amass power of his own in the vacuum that was created after 1071. He uses all the epithets that had been expressed by Kozern about wicked and corrupt princes to describe Philaretos; his account of Philaretos’ career ends with his apostasy and consequent fall from power.<sup>37</sup> After the downfall of Philaretos, he turns almost exclusively

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<sup>36</sup>Matthew of Edessa, *Žamanakagrut iwn* (1898), 206.

<sup>37</sup>Anna Komnēnē also accuses Philaretos of apostasy in her account of the loss of Antioch (Komnenē, Anna, *Alexias*, ed. D. R. Reinsch and A. Kambylis (Berlin: W. de Gruyter, 2001), 186–7), but her explanation of events does not make very much sense, as Frankopan has pointed out (P. Frankopan, ‘The Foreign Policy of the Emperor Alexios I Komnenos (1081–c. 1100)’ (D.Phil. thesis, University of Oxford, 1998), 297–8). For a fuller discussion of the question of Philaretos’ apostasy, see G. Dédéyan, *Les Arméniens entre Grecs, Musulmans et Croisés: étude sur les pouvoirs arméniens dans le Proche-Orient méditerranéen (1068–1150)* (Lisbon: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 2003), 243–6.

to the Turkish and Fatimid campaigns in Edessa, Antioch, and Aleppo, and the political establishment of the Muslim emirs in the region. The book ends shortly after the arrival of the First Crusade in 1096, the establishment of the first Crusader county at Edessa, and the capture of Antioch and Jerusalem, amid a profusion of ominous astronomical phenomena.

Matthew encountered difficulties when he came to write the third book of the history; his task was so difficult, in fact, that he put the history aside for seven years, hoping a scholar would finish it in his stead. He was not himself a scholar, he explained; he did not write in a refined style, and the work should not be left to his 'weakness and ignorance.' These scholars and philosophers had the ability to 'profoundly examine the Old and New Testaments of God, expounding its contents with a formidable and brilliant analysis'. In the tradition of Armenian historiography of which Matthew was a part, the composition of recent history—especially a history that so graphically illustrated God's punishment for human sin, and the redemption hinted at by the Christian re-capture of Jerusalem—must necessarily be inseparable from a sophisticated understanding of Biblical scripture, by which the full meaning of such profound events could be elucidated. It is precisely such an understanding that he disclaimed for himself.

For this third book in particular, the way before him was not clear. It was to cover thirty years, ending around the time that Matthew had originally set down his pen at the end of Book Two. According to the prophecy of Kozern upon which he was basing his work, these thirty years needed to show the seeds of a glorious future that had not yet come, and would not come before 1146. The 'Persians' had indeed arrived, in the wake of the Crusader capture of Jerusalem,

to ravage the land once more; the 'Romans' had been driven out, and the Latin and Armenian princes were under constant pressure. Matthew must emphasise the continued suffering of the Christians, and explain the sins for which these sufferings were punishment, but he must also look ahead to the Christian princes—the 'remnants of the former armies' who would 'begin to strengthen little by little' and establish themselves in the conquered territory. He must show the direction from which the eventual redemption of the Christians from the Muslim oppressor would come. The events of the first thirty years of the twelfth century constituted a tale of ambiguity—moderate successes with frequent reverses—and Matthew apparently found it difficult to capture the ambiguity without allowing his narrative to descend into confusion.

Although he felt himself unqualified, Matthew could not in the end leave his work unfinished. He had resolved to let a more skilled scholar take up the task, 'and now we have seen everyone shrink from [the writing of] this history.' He concluded that he was, perhaps, the only one who could finish it after all: '...it is impossible that anyone else could find these things out or could collect [records of] all the different nations and kings, patriarchs and princes, to set all the times in chronological order.' He realised that his inability to find a more qualified continuator was evidence that God had appointed the task specifically for him, although he felt that he lacked the necessary talent: 'it is God's habit to require some useful work from the weak and the inconsequential; so we see the hive of bees and marvel at their organisation, that from the lightness of their bodies [which are] as nothing, all the sons of man enjoy their sweetness, and their products meet the needs of the saints, and before saints and kings their [honey] is praised.' Finally, he understood that he was running out of time:



‘We saw that time carried on, and the flow and trickle and diminution [of time], and [the fact] that the disappearance of men from the earth does not cease, was shown to us.’ Matthew therefore took up his pen once more, to chronicle as best he could the mixed fortunes of the Armenians and other Christians in the early twelfth century.

The text of Book Three focuses primarily on the activities of the Crusader princes in Edessa and Antioch. The Crusaders took control of Edessa within a year of their arrival; the bulk of Matthew’s adult experiences would have been profoundly affected by his new Latin lords. The city was taken by Baldwin of Boulogne, the brother of the future Godfrey I of Jerusalem, after the Armenian governor, T‘oros, was deposed and killed by the townspeople. Matthew follows the fortunes of Baldwin in Edessa and of the other Crusaders as they capture Antioch and Jerusalem, and as they come under immediate counter-attack from the Muslims. The attitude he displays toward the Crusaders is profoundly mixed—on the one hand, they are valiant; on the other hand, they are greedy. At times, he portrays them as compassionate and honourable; at other times, they are suspicious of each other, dishonourable and quick to break their oaths, and lacking in compassion. His descriptions often include them as fellow ‘faithful Christians’, and just as often set them in opposition to the Christian population, speaking of the troubles ‘that they brought upon the faithful’ as if the Latins were not Christians themselves.<sup>38</sup> Matthew’s portrayal of the Crusaders reflects the difficulty that he faced in assigning them a clear role within the framework of history as set out by the prophecy.

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<sup>38</sup>See, for instance, the siege of Aplast‘an in 554 (1105/6): Matthew of Edessa, *Žamanakagrut ‘iwn* (1898), 302–4.

Near the end of the book, Matthew begins to chronicle the rise of David ‘the Builder’—the Bagratuni king of Georgia who, over the course of the 1120s, began to expand his power into the territory of the former Armenian kingdoms that had been under Turkish rule for over fifty years. This was the beginning of two centuries of Georgian dominance in that region.<sup>39</sup> The rise of David, and the continued Georgian strengthening under David’s son and successor Demetrios, neatly represented the ‘gradual strengthening’ that must take place before Kozēn’s Roman Emperor—the Last World Emperor of the pseudo-Methodian Apocalypse—could arise and usher in the new period of prosperity that Matthew anticipated. The third book is unfinished; Matthew’s last entry, for the year 577 (1128/9), provides an unsatisfying end to his narrative. It is impossible to say whether he envisioned an heir of David Bagratuni as the ‘king of the Romans’ who would redeem the Christians, or whether he looked to the strengthening of the Komnenian emperors of Byzantium or the Crusader lords of Outremer as the means of this redemption. It is nevertheless possible to trace Matthew’s attempts to organise the historical information he had for Book Three into a narrative that supported the prophetic picture of the ‘fifty years’ of ‘Persian’ attack, utter Byzantine collapse, and limited renewal of the Christian nobility that remained in the region.

## Conclusion

When Matthew came to write his Chronicle, he was drawing upon a well-established model within the Armenian historiographical tradition. The history

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<sup>39</sup>For more on Matthew’s treatment of the emergence of Georgia, see below, p. 127.

of the Armenians, as Christians of the 'true' (that is, non-Chalcedonian) faith, was the history of the chosen people of God, and could be acceptably drawn from Biblical patterns with which he was familiar. The recent reverses that the Armenians had suffered were signs of God's displeasure with His people; they must undergo a period of suffering as consequence for their sins, but they would eventually be redeemed through God's mercy, and the infidel oppressors who were the agents of divine punishment would be driven out.

Matthew was able to adopt a pair of prophecies, attributed to and probably authored by the *vardapet* Yovhannēs Kozeṛn, to encapsulate this philosophy of history. The second of these prophecies, extended by a twelfth-century author possibly in cooperation with Matthew himself, provides the structure around which the rest of the Chronicle was composed. This structure was followed in a straightforward manner for Books One and Two of the Chronicle; for Book Three, however, the prophetic structure of the history was overtaken to some extent by the inconclusive nature of events. Matthew was able to describe recent events neither as continued punishment nor as an unmistakable beginning of divine redemption. In attempting to paint a complex picture of varied fortunes for the Armenians and other Christians, he gives a conflicting account of virtuous yet villainous Crusaders, infidel but often merciful Turks, and the gradual revival of Bagratuni strength in Georgia near the end of a book that is nevertheless labelled as an account of 'massacres and suffering'. His complexity descended occasionally into confusion, but his aim is served: to leave 'a record of these trials and tribulations for the good age, when the Lord God will give what He promised in [...] the era that will indeed be full of every joy.'

## **Chapter 5**

# **‘The abandoned Armenian nation’: Matthew’s conception of the history of his people**

Seen through the lens of the prophecy of Yovhannēs Kozeṛn, Matthew had a specific task to accomplish with his portrayal of Armenian history. Although the Chronicle touched on many races, the Armenians were the Christian people to whom the prophecy referred. Its ‘princes, judges, and leaders’ were usually understood to be the Armenian ones. It was they who descended into weakness and turned away from the true faith; it was they who suffered the consequences of the Saljuq invasions; it was their land that was made ‘desolate and depopulated’ by these invaders. Matthew’s presentation of Armenian history, both before and after the First Crusade, was informed by his attempt to follow the prophecy of Kozeṛn; this became particularly difficult after the Crusade. He reports mixed fortunes for the Armenians throughout his third book, and his

last few entries lack the emphasis on destruction and Christian suffering that mark many of the previous ones. Nevertheless, he does not entirely succeed in his goal of portraying a strengthening that would lead to eventual defeat of the ‘Persians’, and he overlooks precisely the sequence of events—the rise of the Rubenid princes in Cilicia—that could have best served his purpose.

In this chapter, I shall examine these peculiarities of Matthew’s portrayal of the fortunes of his people—how he presented the dispossessed Bagratuni and Arcruni princes, as well as the ‘new nobility’ of the Rubenids, Goł Vasil, and the other Armenian magnates of eastern Asia Minor. The rise of the ‘new nobility’ is for the most part conspicuously absent from the Chronicle; I shall show how this apparent omission on Matthew’s part arises from his attempt to remain true to the timeline set out in Kozern’s prophecy.

## **The idealized past: the presentation of pre-1020 Armenia**

Within his earliest entries concerning the Armenian kingdoms, Matthew portrays the idealized past—the peaceful period of independent Armenia, before its sovereignty was lost—with some success. The period from the accession of Abas I in 929 to the death of Gagik I shortly before 1021 is widely considered to be the apogee of independent Armenia. The best surviving source for most of this period is the history of Step‘anos Asołik of Tarōn,<sup>1</sup> who describes each

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<sup>1</sup>Asołik, Step‘anos (of Tarōn), *Step‘anosi tarōnec‘woy asołkan patmut‘iwn tiezerakan. Erkrord tpagrut‘iwn.*, ed. S. Malxasianc‘ (St. Petersburg, 1885); all references herein are to the more widely-available French translation: Asołik, *Histoire universelle*.

of these reigns as periods of peace and prosperity occasionally interrupted by dissension within the church or by short-lived threats of invasion by various Muslim emirs. Matthew's own Chronicle begins in the Armenian year 401 (952/3), which was the year of the accession of Abas' son Ašot III.

Although Matthew's entries give an impression of the times that usually accords with sources such as Asoġik, it quickly strikes the reader as odd that Armenia is not the focus of the Chronicle before 1021. No clue as to Matthew's intended focus is given by a title; the majority of manuscript copies of the text are untitled. It is referred to by cataloguers (or by marginalia in the manuscripts themselves) as either the 'Chronicle' or the 'History', occasionally the 'History of the Bagratunis and others'. The first entry, about a famine in Edessa, mentions the Armenians only incidentally. The majority of the pre-1021 entries concern the succession of Byzantine emperors and Byzantine campaigns in the east, with a few reports of events around Edessa and Antioch, and a few records of the succession of Armenian katholikoi which are almost all mis-dated. It seems that, although Matthew was convinced that these had been years of peace and plenty, he actually had only a little information about the southern Armenian kingdom of Vaspurakan, and almost none about events in the main Bagratuni kingdom of Ani.

The first 'Armenian' entry is for 410 (961/2), in which Matthew records the accession of king 'Gagik'. This is the first sign to the reader of his lack of reliable information; Gagik I was crowned in 439 (990/1). Gagik's death, and the civil war that it set off between his sons Smbat-Yovhannēs I and Ašot IV, is recorded at the beginning of 420 (971/2), only ten years after his 'accession'. This date has long been acknowledged to be wrong, and the reference to his coronation

has generally been taken as a reference to the coronation of his father Ašot III.<sup>2</sup> I have recently argued that the coronation Matthew describes probably refers to a ceremony that occurred in 952. His confusion concerning the royal succession in the tenth century led him to ‘correct’ the name of the king; his mis-dating of the coronation seems likely to have been an effect of the source he was following.<sup>3</sup>

The entry for 420 (971/2) is misdated. It includes a description of the civil war between Yovhannēs and Ašot (the sons of the king Gagik I, who died around 1020), the death of a prince named Apirat, and an incursion into the Pahlawuni lands of Bĭni. The prosopographical details of all these entries are internally consistent, and support a re-assignment to the year 470 (1021/2). When this is done, very little ‘Armenian’ material from before 470 remains. Matthew records the gathering of the princes of Armenia to meet the Byzantine emperor John I Tzimiskes in 421 (972/3), and preserves the Armenian text of a letter addressed from Tzimiskes to the king Ašot III; he records, and mis-dates, the last few years of the life of David Curopalates, the great prince of Tayk‘ who died in 1000; he records two events from Arcruni-ruled Vaspurakan, one of which is corroborated by Step‘anos Asoĭik. He also records the succession of Armenian *katholikoi*; this information presents its own difficulties, as discussed in chapter 8.

Although Matthew’s ignorance of the history of the Armenian kingdoms in the late tenth century is striking, it is not altogether surprising. Asoĭik himself

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<sup>2</sup>See, for example, N. Garsoïan, ‘The Independent Kingdoms of Medieval Armenia’, chap. 7, in *The Armenian People from Ancient to Modern Times*, vol. 1, ed. R. G. Hovannisian (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 2004), 143–86 at 166.

<sup>3</sup>T. L. Andrews, ‘The Chronology of the Chronicle: An Explanation of the Dating Errors Within Book 1 of the Chronicle of Matthew of Edessa’, *Revue des études arméniennes* 31 (2008–9): 259–82. The clue to Matthew’s mis-dating of Ašot’s coronation lies in the similar mis-datings of the reigns of the *katholikoi* of the period, including Anania, Vahan, Step‘anos, and Xaç‘ik.

gives frustratingly little information about the events of the reigns of Ašot III (952–76), Smbat II (976–90) or Gagik I (990–1018?). The version of his history which has come down to us ends in the year 1003, midway through the reign of Gagik. Aristakēs, who begins his history in earnest with the death of Bagrat of Georgia in 1014, speaks of Asoḻik’s history and claims that it ended with the death of Gagik.<sup>4</sup> If this latter portion of the history ever existed, it has left no trace of its contents in the extant sources and it is unavailable today. Both Aristakēs and Matthew, however, appear to regard the reign of Gagik as the apogee of Bagratid Armenia, and both regard the bellicosity of the younger generation of kings (Smbat-Yovhannēs and Ašot of Ani, and Gēorg of Albania) as the beginning of the troubles that led to the loss of Armenia. For Matthew, the faults of this younger generation of rulers is one of the first indications of the truth of the words of Yovhannēs Kozērñ: that the leaders and princes of Armenia would fall into weakness and corruption, and would thereby bring about the ruin of their people.

## **The loss of the Armenian kingdoms: 1020–45**

From the death of David Curopalates<sup>5</sup> until the Eastern campaign of Basil II in the early 1020s, the only substantial item of history Matthew reports from the Armenian kingdoms concerns the Turkish incursions into Vaspurakan, and the consequent annexation of the kingdom by the Byzantine empire. Matthew has preserved the fullest extant account of this Turkish invasion; even the continu-

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<sup>4</sup>Aristakēs, *Patmut’iwn*, 26.

<sup>5</sup>Although David died in 1000 AD (Armenian year 449), Matthew reports his death in his entry for 432 (983–4). For a discussion of this dating error, see my article cited above.



ators of the Arcruni family history of T'ovma<sup>6</sup> have very little information, and no precise dates, for the sequence of events that he describes.

When Senek'erim heard of the invasion, writes Matthew, he interpreted the appearance of the Turks as a sign of the inevitable destruction of his kingdom. He realised that he was unable to defend it, so he turned to the power who was most able to take on the responsibility: the Byzantium of Basil II. The Arcrunis and their dependent nobles were re-settled in Sebasteia, Vaspurakan passed into Byzantine governance, and thus 'the Armenian land was abandoned by its kings and princes'.<sup>7</sup> This was the model for what was to come.

#### **471–2 (1021–4): Basil II's eastern campaign and its consequences**

Matthew continued the theme of abdication of responsibility with his next pair of entries, which describe Basil's campaign and its consequences. The story of the year 1021 was begun much earlier, with the misplaced entry that covered the civil war between the brothers Yovhannēs-Smbat and Ašot upon the death of their father Gagik. At the same time, because Matthew was confused about the dates, he necessarily had to alter his presentation of events. He needed to show that it was not until the eleventh century, and the arrival of the Turkish threat, that the weakness of the Armenian princes began to have disastrous consequences.

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<sup>6</sup>Arcruni, T'ovma, *Patmut'iw n Tann Arcruneac*, ed. M. H. Darbinyan-Melik'yan (Yerevan: Matenadaran, 2006), 335–8.

<sup>7</sup>Matthew of Edessa, *Žamanakagrut'iw n* (1898), 49.

The sequence of events for these years can be fairly well established through the surviving histories of Aristakēs,<sup>8</sup> the Byzantine historian Iōannēs Skylitzēs,<sup>9</sup> and the Arabic Christian historian Yaḥyā ibn Saʿīd of Antioch,<sup>10</sup> as well as Matthew’s record (although only Aristakes and Matthew give an account of the civil war itself.) Based on these sources, the sequence of events took place as follows. Gagik I of Armenia died shortly before 1020 (the date of his death has not been firmly established.) Soon thereafter, probably in 1021 but possibly earlier, his sons and joint heirs Yovhannēs and Ašot began to dispute the succession. Their dispute resulted in a short civil war that drew in most of the regional powers, including the kingdoms of Georgia and of Vaspurakan. The neighbouring kings and princes, together with the ecclesiastical leadership of Armenia, brokered a settlement between the brothers that left Yovhannēs in control of the city of Ani and its immediate surroundings, while Ašot ruled the kingdom outside Ani; it was agreed that if either brother died, the kingdom was to be re-united under the other. This settlement seems to have played to the strengths of both brothers—Yovhannēs is portrayed as intelligent but physically weak, while Ašot was the warrior to whom the defence of the kingdom as a whole could be entrusted.

Although the details of Matthew’s account of the civil war are internally consistent and almost certainly belong to the year 1021, the fact that he placed the episode in 971 must affect his presentation of facts. The constraints of

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<sup>8</sup>Aristakēs, *Patmut ʿiwn*, 26–40.

<sup>9</sup>Skylitzēs, Iōannēs, *Synopsis historiôn*, trans. J.-C. Cheynet and B. Flusin (Paris: Éditions P. Lethielleux, 2003), 304–5.

<sup>10</sup>Yaḥyā ibn Saʿīd al-Antaki, ‘Histoire de Yahya Ibn Said d’Antioche, part 3’, in *Patrologia Orientalis*, ed. I. U. Krachkovskii, trans. F. Micheau and G. Troupeau (Turnhout: Brepols, 1997), 459–69.

Kozer'n's prophecy required a portrayal of Armenian heroes, of brave and virtuous warriors, and of a solution to the problem that was in accord with God's will; this is the portrait that the reader must therefore expect, and it is what Matthew provides.

He begins his account by describing the characteristics of the two kings. Yovhannēs, the elder, was 'wise and very clever, but was cowardly and idle in flesh and feeble and unpolished in battle'; Ašot, the younger, was 'valiant and brave and strong, invincible and victorious in war.' Upon the death of their father, Yovhannēs took control of the city of Ani; Ašot, with his army, travelled around Armenia to solicit support for his own claim. On his way back to Ani to confront his brother, he stopped to pray at the Holy Cross of Varag and the icon of the Virgin, and made a substantial donation to the monastery of Varag. Matthew describes the fighting that occurred at the gates of Ani, and relates the story of a Georgian hero, allied with Yovhannēs, who died in single combat against Ašot; this becomes a portrait of the bravery of men on both sides of the conflict. After the battle, the Armenian nobles intervened to make peace between the brothers, which resulted in the division of the kingdom described above. 'And then', writes Matthew, 'there was peace in all the land of Armenia.'<sup>11</sup>

The entry goes on to describe the death of a prince named Apirat, who had been allied with Ašot and had fled Ani in fear of reprisal by Yovhannēs, at the hands of the Muslim emir Abu'l-Uswar. Matthew describes Yovhannēs' bitter regret upon learning of Apirat's death, and writes that the king made amends by giving 'lands and high honour' to the prince's orphaned sons. He ends the

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<sup>11</sup>Matthew of Edessa, *Žamanakagrut 'iwn* (1898), 7–10.

entry with an account of the death of Vasak Pahlawuni, the father of Grigor Magistros Pahlawuni, who died defending his family fortress of Bĭni against the Daylamites of Iranian Azerbaijan. Again, he stresses the virtue and bravery of the Armenian forces—upon hearing of the invasion, Vasak immediately abandoned his revelry; before going into battle, he and all his troops ‘took communion and sincerely confessed their sins to Jesus Christ.’<sup>12</sup> The message throughout is that the princes of this era were noble and pious.

For an instructive comparison, one may turn to the account given by Aristakēs. His description of the brothers is very like Matthew’s: ‘Smbat was corpulent and thick-bodied, but in wisdom they say that he surpassed most men; Ašot had a well-regulated stature of body, was brave-hearted and war-loving.’<sup>13</sup> From that point, however, his story diverges. Gēorg, the king of Abkhazia and Iberia, brokered the territorial settlement between Yovhannēs and Ašot shortly after the death of Gagik. As Yovhannēs travelled back to Ani, a prince who was one of Ašot’s partisans went to Gēorg to accuse Yovhannēs of unjustly taking his lands. Gēorg sent soldiers to arrest Yovhannēs; the fight outside Ani resulted from this action, not from a direct conflict between Yovhannēs and Ašot. Aristakēs reports that the soldiers ‘despoiled and plundered the ornaments of the churches of the katholikoi; and, pulling the nails from the cross, they said about these affronts “We shall take them and use them for horseshoes.”’ Aristakēs continues his tale with ominous foreshadowing: even after this dispute had been settled, Ašot suffered from the encroachment of powerful neighbours, and eventually went to seek military assistance from

<sup>12</sup>Matthew of Edessa, *Žamanakagrut ‘iwn* (1898), 10–11.

<sup>13</sup>Aristakēs, *Patmut ‘iwn*, 26–7.

Constantinople. So we see that Aristakēs' presentation of the dispute is very different from that of Matthew: the Armenian princes were not acting in accordance with God's will, and their people would suffer for it.

This message of sin and suffering, removed from Matthew's account of the civil war, returns in full strength for the remainder of his description of the events of 470 and 471, now placed in their proper years. This part of the tale concerns the Iberian campaign of Basil II, recorded by Skylitzes and Yahya as well as the Armenian historians. The causes for this campaign had their roots in the failed rebellion of Bardas Phokas against the emperor in 989. As a consequence of his support for the rebel, David Curopalates had been compelled to will his principality of Tayk' to the empire upon his death. Basil had marched east to claim his inheritance after David's death in 1000, but Byzantine control of the region was not strongly asserted. David's original heir, Bagrat III of Abkhazia, had meanwhile acquired the kingdom of Iberia and was thereby able to pass on the united pair of kingdoms, along with the hereditary claim to Tayk' itself that he had lost upon David's agreement with Basil, to his son Gēorg (the king who would later mediate between Yovhannēs and Ašot) upon his death in 1014. A Byzantine army sent that year to enforce Basil's claim to Tayk' was defeated; it was to avenge this defeat that Basil marched east in 1021.<sup>14</sup> While Basil was in the east, he was confronted with another revolt led by his generals Nikephoros Phokas and Nikephoros Xiphias.<sup>15</sup> The revolt had widespread support within the Byzantine military, and among the leaders of the East, including Gēorg, Yovhannēs, Ašot, and David Arcruni, who

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<sup>14</sup>C. Holmes, *Basil II and the Governance of Empire (976-1025)* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 481–2.

<sup>15</sup>*Ibid.*, 515–25.

was the son of Senek'ërim of Vaspurakan. The revolt failed with the murder of Nikephoros Phokas; the Armenian sources claim that this was brought about by David Arcruni, who had regretted his role in the rebel cause.<sup>16</sup>

The civil war in Ani occurred under the shadow of this Iberian intransigence toward Byzantium, and its aftermath was intertwined with Basil's presence in the east. Although the evidence of Armenian involvement in the Byzantine–Iberian dispute is scant, Matthew claims that Yovhannēs supported Gēorg in his struggle against Basil. If so, the Armenian king would have been put into an awkward position when Gēorg was defeated. Whether out of fear of Byzantine reprisal, out of a desire to prevent an eventual succession by Ašot or his descendants, or from another set of motives, Yovhannēs sent the katholikos Petros Getadarj to sign a treaty in which he willed his kingdom to the Byzantine empire after his death. It was the efforts to enforce this treaty after Yovhannēs died in 1041 that led directly to the fall of the Bagratuni throne.

A comparison of Matthew's account of this campaign with the reconstructed version given above is instructive. This episode follows a series of entries that focus on events in Byzantium, and in particular on the victorious campaigns and upright conduct of Basil II.<sup>17</sup> Matthew begins with the assertion that Basil marched eastward to demand Ani and Kars from the king Yovhannēs, apparently unprompted by anything. In light of the actual events of this year, and of Matthew's generally high opinion of the emperor, the lack of context for Basil's 'demand' is surprising. Matthew goes on to claim that Yovhannēs acquiesced out of 'cowardice'. Although this is not a particularly illuminating

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<sup>16</sup>Matthew of Edessa, *Žamanakagrut' iwn* (1898), 51; Aristakēs, *Patmut' iwn*, 34.

<sup>17</sup>Matthew's attitudes toward Byzantium, and toward Basil II in particular, are discussed in detail in chapter 6.

rationale, it is of a piece with his claim, first expressed in connection with the annexation of Vaspurakan, that the Armenian kings had become cowardly and neglectful of their duties. From that point on, however, Matthew's account of events begins to very closely match that of Aristakēs; this is unsurprising, since his understanding is very similar to Aristakēs' own: that the fall of Armenia was brought about by the sins of its leaders. The similarities can be seen, for instance, in the two descriptions of the visit that Basil received from the Armenian katholikos Petros (and, according to Matthew, Yovhannēs Kozērñ.) The emperor invited the katholikos to celebrate the service of Epiphany. Both Matthew and Aristakēs describe the miracle that occurred when Petros blessed the water according to the Armenian rite of Epiphany. If one allows for the inevitable embellishment of details over the decades that separate the two authors, their descriptions are remarkably similar. Aristakēs reports that 'when the *hayrapet* poured the Lord's oil into the water, a scattering of rays of light suddenly shone forth from the water';<sup>18</sup> according to Matthew, 'fire suddenly appeared shining upon the water and the river was bound to one spot and did not move.'<sup>19</sup> Similarly, the accounts of the attempted coup of Nikephoros Phokas and Nikephoros Xiphias match: both Armenian historians leave Xiphias out altogether, both describe the 'turn-coat' role played by David Arcruni, both describe Basil's subsequent attack against Gēorg, the latter's submission, and the freak summer snowstorm that halted Basil's advance on the city of Her.

Although the details of the individual episodes within Matthew's account align remarkably closely with those of Aristakēs, he has re-ordered all the major

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<sup>18</sup>Aristakēs, *Patmut' iwn*, 32.

<sup>19</sup>Matthew of Edessa, *Žamanakagrut' iwn* (1898), 50.

events. Here, Basil arrives in the east to demand the territory of Yovhannēs, and to demand submission from Gēorg of Iberia. Yovhannēs accedes to Basil's request, but Gēorg refuses to submit until Basil compels him through force of arms. While the emperor is in the East, he honours the Armenian church, through its representative Petros Getadarj, allowing him pride of place at the Epiphany service. Having demonstrated his esteem for the Armenians, Basil is confronted with a rebellion by his own generals, which is supported by, among others, the very Armenians that he has just honoured. He defeats the rebels with the assistance of David Arcruni, and then turns against Gēorg in retaliation for his support of the rebels. This is a rather different sequence of events, and gives a much more negative image of the Armenian princes of the time, than the accounts that have come down to us from the other historians.

This alternate image that Matthew gives is explained immediately with the first prophecy of Kozērñ, which is placed just after the account of Basil's Eastern campaign. With the consequences of that campaign fresh in the reader's memory, Matthew sets down Kozērñ's warning that no man would remain faithful to the commandments of God, that the princes would fall into sin, pride, and small-mindedness, and that in so doing they would incur the wrath of God on all creation. It is a warning whose truth Matthew has just illustrated. The Armenian royal 'children' had rejected and rebelled against their 'father'; they had begun to display the 'stubborn, self-loving, ...mendacious'<sup>20</sup> qualities against which Kozērñ warns. As a result, they and their people had already paid a price, and would pay a much heavier one in the years to come.

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<sup>20</sup>Matthew of Edessa, *Žamanakagrut 'iwn* (1898), 53–4.



## 490–4 (1041–6): Turkish invasions and the loss of independence

The second prophecy, set in 485 (1036/7), gives the outline of history that Matthew followed for the remainder of the Chronicle. The ‘foreign race of infidel Turks’, as agents of God’s punishment, would come to punish the Christian faithful; ‘for sixty years the earth is to be desolated by sword and captivity.’ This sixty-year period would end when the Crusaders captured Jerusalem, but another fifty-year period of suffering, this time at the hands of the Persians, would immediately follow. This second period of Christian subjugation would be tempered by a slow strengthening of the remaining Christian princes, in preparation for the eventual revival of the pseudo-Methodian ‘Roman emperor’ and re-establishment of the Christian order. This is the summary of the history of the Armenian people as Matthew went on to write it.

He begins immediately, with an account of the Armenian capture of Berkri from the Muslim emir Xtrik.<sup>21</sup> The victorious prince, Ganji, allowed his troops to fall into drunken negligence. The consequences were immediate: the evicted emir was able to rally his townspeople against the invaders, catch them unprepared, and rout them. Already in the very year in which Matthew has set them, Kozern’s predictions were beginning to be fulfilled. Matthew’s description of the capture of Berkri, and the loss that was brought about by the captors’ negligence, is partially corroborated in the accounts of Aristakes<sup>22</sup> and Skylitzes,<sup>23</sup> but there it is cast as a conflict between Byzantines and ‘Persians’, with no explicit Armenian involvement. Matthew may have regarded the

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<sup>21</sup>Matthew of Edessa, *Žamanakagrut ʿiwn* (1898), 74–5.

<sup>22</sup>Aristakēs, *Patmut ʿiwn*, 48.

<sup>23</sup>Skylitzēs, *Synopsis historiōn*, 322.

episode as an ideal illustration of the consequences of Christian immorality, and adopted it into his account of Armenian history by changing the identities of the protagonists.

The signature disaster of the 1040s, for most of the Armenian historians who followed, was the loss of Armenian independence to the Byzantine Empire. Apart from the Chronicle, the most informative source for the annexation of Ani is the history of Aristakēs; it is also discussed, briefly, by Skylitzes. None of these historians give an entirely satisfactory account of events, but the evidence suggests something like the following.<sup>24</sup> The king in Ani, Yovhannēs, died in 1041 with no son or appointed heir; his brother Ašot had died the previous year. In exchange for the agreement he had made in 1022 to leave his kingdom to Byzantium after his death, Yovhannēs had held Byzantine imperial rank, with the financial subsidy that this rank implied, for the remainder of his life. After his death, a courtier named Sargis Haykazn attempted to take control of the kingdom, probably on behalf of the Empire, and a pro-Byzantine faction allied with Sargis encouraged the emperor Michael IV to come and enforce Yovhannēs' will. Michael marched eastward with an army to take Ani, but an anti-Byzantine faction within the city, led by Vahram Pahlawuni, chased Sargis from the city and installed the young son of Ašot IV, Gagik, as king. Gagik captured and imprisoned Sargis, thus removing the immediate internal threat to his rule; the external threat, Michael's Byzantine troops, were unable to overcome Armenian resistance and soon withdrew. Gagik then embarked

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<sup>24</sup>For a good reconstruction of the timeline for both the annexation of Ani and the 1048 sack of Arcn and battle of Kaputru, see J. Shepard, 'Scylitzes on Armenia in the 1040s, and the Role of Catechon Cecaumenos', *Revue des études arméniennes* 11 (1975–6): 269–311.

upon ‘two successful years’<sup>25</sup> of his reign, during which time Sargis Haykazn worked his way back into the young king’s confidence. In late 1044 or early 1045, the new emperor Constantine IX Monomachos made another attempt to claim the inheritance of Yovhannēs. He invited Gagik to Constantinople; both the Armenian sources claim that this invitation was made under false pretences. Gagik was convinced by his pro-Byzantine advisers, led by Sargis, to accept the invitation of the emperor; he entrusted the rule of Ani to the katholikos Petros Getadarj and departed for Constantinople. He was never to return. Once in the capital, he was coerced by Constantine into giving up his kingdom in return for the grant of territory near Sebasteia. Resistance to Byzantine rule was once again organised by the Pahlawuni family, but it was short-lived. Petros surrendered the city to the governor of Melitene after it had become clear that Gagik would not return.

Matthew’s own account of the loss of Ani is consistent with his larger aim: to portray the ways in which dissension and sin led to the downfall of the Christian kingdoms, as it had been foretold. He begins his account of events for the year 489 (1040/1) with the sighting of a comet; this is not assigned any immediate significance, but it serves as a portentous introduction to disaster. The death of Ašot IV is recorded in the same year. After his death, ‘the Armenian forces grew feeble and despised the arts of war, they came under the yoke of servitude to the Roman nation, they settled into drunkenness, they loved citherns and the works of *gusans*; they deviated from unity with each other and they did not come to the aid of their own; and [as for] the land which was put to the sword, they engaged in weeping and wept for the destruction of each other while betraying

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<sup>25</sup>Matthew of Edessa, *Žamanakagrut iwn* (1898), 87.

each other to the sword of the Greek race; and they became destroyers of their own kind and turned to the side of their own enemies.’<sup>26</sup> This relatively long condemnation of the Armenian military forces is a clear echo of the warnings of Kozeṛn.

The theme of dissension and mutual betrayal is taken up in the next episode Matthew describes: an offensive by the Persian emir Abū ‘l-Uswār against the Albanian ruler David Anhoṫin.<sup>27</sup> The combined Albanian and Armenian armies were successful on this occasion, but Matthew explains that the required troops were only raised after David wrote to Yovhannēs of Ani, and the rulers of Kapan and Abkhazia, threatening to betray them to Abū ‘l-Uswār if they refused to come to his aid.

Matthew goes on to describe the offensives of Michael IV against Ani, and the coronation of Gagik II that was engineered by Vahram and Grigor Pahlawuni to counter Byzantine claims.<sup>28</sup> He, like Aristakēs, gives hints of the complex political alliances that formed in Ani during this time, but these hints are frustratingly vague. The responsibility for the loss of Ani is laid on the ‘apostate and perfidious men’, including Sargis Haykazn, who arranged to surrender Ani after Gagik had left the city. He describes the continued resistance of the residents of Ani to Byzantine rule, and their eventual submission. His entry for the following year describes an earthquake in Ekeṛeac‘ province, and ‘darkness and gloom upon the earth to such an extent that the sun and moon took on the appearance of blood’ throughout that summer. The message of divine anger at the Armenians is clear.

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<sup>26</sup>Matthew of Edessa, *Žamanakagrut ‘iwn* (1898), 79.

<sup>27</sup>Ibid., 79–82.

<sup>28</sup>Ibid., 82–4.

## The occupied East and the Armenians in exile

After he had accomplished their annexation, Monomachos lost no time in bringing the new Armenian provinces under imperial control. A primary remit of the appointed Byzantine governors was to secure the area against the increasingly frequent Turkish raids. A raid in Vaspurakan, in 1045 or 1046, had ended with the capture of the Byzantine governor Stephen Lichoudes.<sup>29</sup> In 1048, Monomachos dispatched three Byzantine governors—Katakalon Kekaumenos of Ani, Aaron (son of Vladislav of Bulgaria) of Vaspurakan, and Grigor Pahlawuni, who in the wake of the annexation of Ani had ceded his patrimonial lands to the empire and had been made *doux* of Mesopotamia—to engage the Turks.<sup>30</sup> These three had been ordered to join forces with a Georgian prince named Liparit, but as they waited for Liparit's arrival, the Turkish troops reached the town of Arcn unopposed, and sacked it. Although both Matthew and Aristakēs dwell at length on the sack of Arcn, and Matthew claims that it was 'the first town which was captured from the Armenians and put to the sword and enslaved.'<sup>31</sup> the land did not immediately come under Turkish rule. The Byzantine *modus operandi* at the time was to allow the raids to take place, and attack the raiders as they returned with their booty and prisoners to the East.<sup>32</sup> This was precisely what Kekaumenos, Aaron, and Grigor did, but when they engaged the Turks, they were defeated and Liparit was taken prisoner. The next twenty years were marked by repeated raids by Turkish troops; although Byzantium remained in administrative control of its eastern territory, the emperors neglected to

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<sup>29</sup>Matthew of Edessa, *Žamanakagrut 'iwn* (1898), 98–100; Skylitzēs, *Synopsis historiōn*, 371

<sup>30</sup>For the career of Grigor Magistros Pahlawuni, see Sanjian, 'Grigor Magistros'.

<sup>31</sup>Matthew of Edessa, *Žamanakagrut 'iwn* (1898), 103.

<sup>32</sup>Frankopan, 'Alexios I Komnenos', 271–3.

devote enough resources to securing Anatolia against raids. Meanwhile, the increasing population of the nomadic Turks led them to more aggressively seek a permanent base.<sup>33</sup> In 1069, Romanos Diogenes took the imperial throne. He was aware of the danger, and his expedition to the East in 1071 was meant to secure the eastern territories against this threat of invasion and settlement. His defeat at Manzikert, blamed by the vast majority of primary sources on treachery within the leadership of his army, is generally regarded to mark the end of effective Byzantine control in the East. Opposition to the Turkish raids after 1071 was organised primarily by local strongmen who amassed power in the vacuum left behind.<sup>34</sup>

To Matthew, the inescapable result of the loss of Armenian independence was the constant waves of Muslim invasion and Christian retreat that Kozern had foretold. Within his entry for 494 (1045/6), the year of the annexation, Matthew foreshadows the events that were to come by describing the incursion of ‘three men from the court of the sultan Tughrul’, after they had been driven from Mosul by the Arab emir Kuraysh.<sup>35</sup> They attacked Patin, took captives, and requested passage through Byzantine-held Vaspurakan. It was Lichoudes’

<sup>33</sup>P. Magdalino, ‘The Medieval Empire (780–1204)’, chap. 7, in *The Oxford History of Byzantium*, ed. C. Mango (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 169–213 at 180–9.

<sup>34</sup>There is some debate in the current scholarship concerning the causes of this Byzantine collapse, and the extent to which the Byzantine government lost control of the East in the decade after Manzikert, but the links between regional and central power do seem to have weakened somewhat. Some of these links were re-established between 1078 and 1082 by Nikephoros Botaneiates and Alexios Komnenos, but by the 1090s, even this power had gone. See Dédéyan, *Les Arméniens entre Grecs, Musulmans et Croisés*, part 1 ch. 1; Frankopan, ‘Alexios I Komnenos’, ch. 4; Holmes, *Basil II*, 538–41; D. Korobeinikov, ‘Raiders and Neighbours: The Turks (1040–1304)’, chap. 19, in *The Cambridge History of the Byzantine Empire, c. 500–1492*, ed. J. Shepard (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 692–727 at 701.

<sup>35</sup>These conflicts between Tughrul Bey’s Turks and the Arab emir of Mosul are described in Ibn al-Athīr, ‘Izz al-Dīn, *The Annals of the Saljuq Turks: Selections from al-Kāmil fi’l-Ta’rīkh of ‘Izz al-Dīn Ibn al-Athīr (1029–97)*, ed. D. S Richards (London: RoutledgeCurzon, 2002), 50–8.

refusal to allow them passage that resulted in his capture and, according to Matthew, his torture and death.

From 498 (1049/50) on, beginning with the sack of Arcn,<sup>36</sup> nearly every entry set in the former Armenian kingdoms describes a Turkish attack on an Armenian settlement, and the consequent massacres of Christians. One of the early entries describes a rare Christian success: Matthew describes the first Turkish attack on Manzikert in 1054, which was successfully repelled by the *strategos* Vasil Apokapēs, an Armenian in the service of Byzantium.<sup>37</sup> More typical are the accounts of Turkish attacks in Melitene,<sup>38</sup> Sebasteia,<sup>39</sup> Palin,<sup>40</sup> and others. The themes of Christian dissension and betrayal continue to feature prominently; Matthew writes of a Byzantine counter-offensive near Amida in 511 (1062/3) in which the Armenian *doux* of Edessa, Dawatanos, was killed through the ‘treachery’ of the Frankish mercenary Hervé (named by Matthew as Frankopoulos.) Later that year, he writes, Hervé defeated the Turks at Karin, but was recalled and executed by the emperor Constantine Doukas for the death of Dawatanos.<sup>41</sup> The final acts in the Turkish conquest of Armenia were the sack of Ani in 1064 and of Manzikert in 1070, both by the sultan Alp Arslan. The sack of Manzikert was, according to Matthew, a revenge attack for the failed offensive that Tughrul Bey had led in 1054; it led directly to the 1071 battle of Manzikert, which ended Byzantine control over its eastern territories. The words of the prophecy are thus clearly illustrated: ‘all the faithful in

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<sup>36</sup>This took place in 498, although both Matthew and Aristakēs dated it to the following year.

<sup>37</sup>Matthew of Edessa, *Žamanakagrut iwn* (1898), 118–22.

<sup>38</sup>Ibid., 128–30.

<sup>39</sup>Ibid., 133–5.

<sup>40</sup>Ibid., 138–40.

<sup>41</sup>Ibid., 141–4.

Christ pass into starvation and captivity; many districts become depopulated, the strength of the saints is removed from the earth; churches are razed to their foundations.’<sup>42</sup> Matthew must show that the Armenian lands had been devastated, just as Kozeṛn had foretold.

## **The royal families in exile**

Matthew’s portrayal of the ‘suffering of the Armenians’ was not limited to the former kingdoms of the east. He also shows the declining fortunes of the Armenian kings and princes in exile, and the continued mistreatment of his people at the hands of others.

During the years surrounding the annexation of Armenia, in entries intermingled with those describing the Turkish raids and the Byzantine offensives on Ani, Matthew returns his attention to the Arcruni princes Atom and Abusahl, who as sons of Senek‘erim had inherited his titles in Sebasteia after the death of their brother David. The first overt indication of trouble came, according to Matthew, in 1040.<sup>43</sup> A ‘wicked and evil prince’ of the Arcrunis went to the emperor Michael IV to accuse Atom and Abusahl of some unspecified act of treachery. Rather than resist the imperial troops sent to apprehend them, the brothers submitted to arrest and were brought to Constantinople, where they invoked the memory of Basil II in a plea for clemency. Michael was moved by their plea and allowed them to return to Sebasteia.

One of the last appearances of the Arcruni brothers in the Chronicle comes in 1071, on the eve of the battle of Manzikert, when they were snubbed by

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<sup>42</sup>Matthew of Edessa, *Žamanakagrut ‘iwn* (1898), 72.

<sup>43</sup>Ibid., 83–4.



Romanos Diogenes as a result of more 'slandorous remarks' made to him by unidentified 'Romans'. Matthew blames Diogenes' downfall on the prayers of Armenian monks, who cursed the emperor after he threatened, in the grip of his indignation at the Arcrunis, to force union upon the Armenian church after his return from the battle.<sup>44</sup>

Similar stories appear elsewhere within Books One and Two, and one of these episodes is used to end Book One. This time, the emperor was Constantine IX Monomachos, the accusers were another set of 'perfidious people' of unknown ethnicity, and the victims were the 'sons of Abel' Harpik, David, Leon, and Constantine.<sup>45</sup> The emperor dispatched a general to arrest them, and this time they chose to resist. Harpik was killed, and the other three were taken to Constantinople and confined to one of the islands in the Sea of Marmara, where they remained until the reign of Theodora (1055–6).<sup>46</sup>

After the last Bagratuni king, Gagik, had joined his fellow Armenians in exile in Cappadocia, he began to share their fate to some extent. His first appearance in the Chronicle after the fall of Ani comes in 514 (1065/6), when the emperor Constantine X Doukas gathered several members of the Armenian nobility and clergy in Constantinople in order to accomplish the union of the churches. Just as they were on the point of adopting a statement of union drawn up by Yakob Sanahnec'i, claims Matthew, Gagik arrived in Constantinople, destroyed the statement of Yakob, and wrote his own profession of faith, the full text of which Matthew reproduces in the entry. Upon his departure from the capital,

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<sup>44</sup>Matthew of Edessa, *Žamanakagrut' iwn* (1898), 198–9.

<sup>45</sup>Dédéyan has proposed that these were forerunners or other close relatives of the Rubenid line that would come to rule Cilician Armenia. See *Les Arméniens entre Grecs, Musulmans et Croisés*, 368–71.

<sup>46</sup>Ibid., 109–12, 122.

Gagik went to Caesarea, where relations between the Greek and Armenian communities appear to have been particularly bad. He had an altercation with Markos, the Greek metropolitan of Caesarea, which ended with Markos' murder at the hands of Gagik's men. The consequences of Gagik's actions were reaped fifteen years later, when he was captured and killed by three Byzantine nobles identified as the 'sons of Mandalē'. 'Here', writes Matthew, 'the kingdom of the Armenian nation and of the Bagratuni family came to be ended.'<sup>47</sup>

Matthew is consistent, throughout his account of the sixty years that passed between the second prophecy attributed to Kozēn and the arrival of the First Crusade, in portraying the sons of the former Armenian kings as victims of Byzantine aggressiveness and of the perfidy of their own compatriots. There is only one Armenian ruler who is acknowledged to have had any measure of success during this time, and Matthew's opinion of him is violently negative. It is to this problem that we can now turn.

## **The rise and fall of Philaretos**

The Byzantine defeat at Manzikert left many scattered remnants of the imperial army in Asia Minor, some of whom took advantage of the anarchy of the next few years to carve out their own power bases. One of these soldiers was Philaretos Brachamios, an ethnic Armenian whose family had been in Byzantine service for at least two generations.<sup>48</sup> By 1078, Philaretos was in control of territory that stretched from Kharberd to Antioch. During his

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<sup>47</sup>Matthew of Edessa, *Žamanakagrut'wn* (1898), 220.

<sup>48</sup>For a thorough discussion of Philaretos, his origins, and his career, see Dédéyan, *Les Arméniens entre Grecs, Musulmans et Croisés*, part 1.

Byzantine military career, he had been part of a cohort of ethnic Armenian soldiers who were closely allied with Romanos Diogenes; several of them were active participants in Diogenes' attempt to regain his throne after his defeat, and it was probably for this reason that Philaretos gave no recognition to the new emperor Michael Doukas. Michael was unable to force the issue, and Philaretos' rule was effectively independent.

Philaretos finally acknowledged Byzantine rule in 1078, to the new emperor Nikephoros Botaneiates, who had been a comrade-in-arms in the years leading up to the battle of Manzikert. His rule over his territories was acknowledged in turn by Botaneiates through the grant of the Byzantine title of Domestic of the East, and was later acknowledged by Alexios Komnenos by his confirmation of Philaretos' office and his promotion to the ranks of *sebastos* and *protosebastos* in turn. By the mid-1080s, however, Philaretos was coming under increasing pressure from the Turks under Malik-Shah. He lost control over Antioch in 1084, having left it undefended while he himself was in Edessa; this was recorded by both Matthew and Anna Komnenē, who was anxious to show that the loss of Antioch was not the fault of Alexios himself.<sup>49</sup> Shortly thereafter, Philaretos went to the court of Malik-Shah to seek confirmation of his rule, but he was unsuccessful, and in his absence a rival staged a coup in Edessa that resulted in the loss of the last of his power.

In Matthew's eyes, Philaretos was the epitome of the 'impious princes, with many vices, audacious and sinful' to which Kozern referred in his prophecies. He is introduced with a string of epithets:

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<sup>49</sup>Frankopan, 'Alexios I Komnenos', 297–8.

In this period the impious and most evil prince Philaretos rose to tyranny, who was indeed the eldest son of Satan, for when Diogenes fell [this] venomous man, who was indeed a fore-runner to the Antichrist, tyrannised the land, demonic and capricious in his malicious behaviour. He began to make war against the Christian faithful, because he was an unbeliever in Christ, with no Armenian and no Roman recognising him, [although] he held the Roman religion and customs, and through his paternity and maternity he was Armenian, and from infancy he had been placed with his father's brother in the monastery called Zōrvri-Kozerñ in Hisn-Mansur district. He came from the desert and became filth of the desert; he took over many lands and cities and mercilessly destroyed many great princes and he came and dwelled in Mšar.<sup>50</sup>

The Brakhamioi, as Armenians who had long been in Byzantine service, were almost certainly a Chalcedonian family, but this does not entirely explain Matthew's enmity—although he shows anti-Chalcedonian sentiment throughout the Chronicle, this does not translate to enmity against all Chalcedonians, or even all Armenian Chalcedonians.<sup>51</sup> A good counter-example is T'oros, the ruler of Edessa who was killed shortly after the arrival of the Crusaders; he was probably a Chalcedonian,<sup>52</sup> but Matthew portrays him as a ruler who had the best interests of his Armenian subjects in mind and who was unjustly hated. One must search elsewhere for an explanation of his antipathy toward Philaretos. Dédéyan has suggested that his attitude may arise from a source, whether written or otherwise, connected with the katholikos Grigor II V kayasēr, the son of Grigor Magistros Pahlawuni, whose enmity toward Philaretos was well-known.<sup>53</sup>

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<sup>50</sup>Matthew of Edessa, *Žamanakagrut 'iwn* (1898), 206.

<sup>51</sup>For a further discussion of Matthew's religious attitudes, see chapter 8.

<sup>52</sup>A. A. Bournoutian, 'Cilician Armenia', in *The Armenian People from Ancient to Modern Times*, vol. 1, ed. R. G. Hovannisian (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2004), 273–91 at 274–6.

<sup>53</sup>Dédéyan, *Les Arméniens entre Grecs, Musulmans et Croisés*, 49.

Whatever the origins of Matthew's opinions, he found in Philaretos another agent of the divine punishment of the Armenians that the prophecy called for. Having introduced him in such an extremely negative manner, Matthew went on to connect him to the downfall of several Armenian nobles, including T'ōrnik of Sasun,<sup>54</sup> the rival rulers of Edessa Smbat and Iṣḫan,<sup>55</sup> and Gagik Bagratuni himself.<sup>56</sup> He also blamed Philaretos for instigating multiple divisions within the Armenian church, by appointing rival katholikoi to Grigor Vkayasēr, who refused to reside within Philaretos' principality. This was in direct fulfilment of the prophecies:

And so behold all these things [i.e. the divisions within the church] are precursors of the Antichrist and the beginning of the end of the world, for this disappearance of faith and of divine worship is in fulfilment of what was written in the holy books, what St. Nersēs and his son St. Isahak, and what the holy *vardapet* Yovhannēs, who is called Kozerñ, said in our time. He spoke many words as prophecies about this era and about the obstruction of divine worship in the minds of everyone; and [that] they would weaken in faith; he said this in that same book from earlier times.<sup>57</sup>

Finally, Matthew reports the apostasy of Philaretos, an action taken in a desperate and unsuccessful bid to gain the favour of Malik-Shah and be restored to the rule that he had recently lost. It was, in Matthew's eyes, a fitting end for the vile character represented in his pages.

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<sup>54</sup>Matthew of Edessa, *Žamanakagrut 'iwn* (1898), 206–10.

<sup>55</sup>Ibid., 222–4.

<sup>56</sup>Ibid., 218–20.

<sup>57</sup>Ibid., 230.

## The Armenian magnates of Cilicia and Syria

One result of Matthew's attempt to remain within the bounds set out by the prophecy, which appears particularly odd given his focus on local events, is his silence about the rise of the Armenian princes who followed Philaretos. One of these princes was Goł Vasil, who controlled a large principality centred at Kesun and Raban, not far from Edessa, and who came to power around 1082.<sup>58</sup> Matthew makes no mention of Vasil until his entry for 552 (1103/4), early in Book Three, by which time he had already gained sufficient power to act as sponsor and intermediary for the ransom of Bohemond, the Crusader prince who had been taken captive by Danishmend in 1101. He makes only a passing reference in the entry for 545 (1096/7) to Constantine, the son of Ruben and patriarch of the Rubenid family who would eventually become kings of Cilicia. In neither case does he describe the sequence of events that led to their rise to power, and he gives the impression that their power was of little consequence to the fortunes of the Armenian people.

This apparent insignificance of the local Armenian rulers cannot be taken at face value. Matthew is, after all, operating within the constraints of a prophecy that does not allow for 'the strengthening of the remnants of the Roman armies' until some years *after* the Crusader capture of Jerusalem. The Rubenid line, Goł Vasil, and the other Armenian lords who controlled territory at the time of the First Crusade had come to power too early. Matthew could not find a way to work their successes into the account of desolation, destruction, and divine retribution that had necessarily to dominate the years between 1036 and 1096.

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<sup>58</sup>Dédéyan, *Les Arméniens entre Grecs, Musulmans et Croisés*, 1168–9.

By the mid-1090s, Matthew had described the demise of a long succession of Armenian princes all over Asia Minor, either at the hands of the Byzantines, the hands of the Turks, or the hands of Philaretos. He gives a very strong impression of a nobility whose best and brightest members had been wiped out by the dissension and jealousy of their own people and of others. This part of the prophecy of Kozern could thereby be seen to have been fulfilled: 'through murder and bloodshed they strive to destroy one another...and for sixty years the earth is to be desolated by sword and captivity.'<sup>59</sup> Though he had passed over the successful, and non-Chalcedonian, Armenian princes such as the Rubenids who began their rise to power in this period, his omission was in service to the 'higher' truth contained in the prophecy.

## **The slow revival: the Armenians and the Crusaders**

The arrival of the Crusaders, precisely sixty years after the date in which Matthew has set the second prophecy of Kozern, marked the transition to a new phase of history as he understood it. There were to be fifty further years of 'Persian' harassment of the Christians, and he intended to cover thirty-five of them in his Chronicle. This was clearly in his mind when he wrote the prologue to Book Three: 'we saw that no one had the intention to pursue this [history] or to collect documents, so that there might be a record of this massacre and tribulation'.<sup>60</sup> He anticipated the final Christian re-conquest of the 'Roman Emperor' in the very near future, and was driven by the necessity of completing

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<sup>59</sup>Matthew of Edessa, *Žamanakagrut 'iwn* (1898), 72.

<sup>60</sup>Ibid., 277.

his history of the suffering that the Christians had undergone, in punishment for their sins, before this re-conquest came about.

The task before him, however, was not as simple as a record of Armenian suffering and divine anger. He needed to show the beginning of a revival as well. It is clear from his prologue that he felt that this task was beyond him; it is clear from the text itself, in which he focuses primarily on the dealings of the Crusader lords, the politics between various factions of Fatimid and Turkish emirs, and the experience of the townspeople of Edessa, that he struggled to set out a coherent universal history of the Armenian people that fits the model he uses.

The one constant fact of life between 1101 and 1131 was the frequent warfare throughout Asia Minor, primarily between the Crusading newcomers and the Muslim emirs who had recently established themselves. The consequences of this warfare were very easy to interpret as further divine punishment of the Christians, and Matthew was quick to do so. He reports several offensives on Edessa itself, as well as on surrounding cities such as Antioch, Marash, and Anazarba; he gives a constant litany of famine, slaughter of Christians, and displacement of townspeople throughout the region.

The most striking thing about these episodes is that they are all focused on cities that are relatively near to Edessa. This focus on local events, to the near-complete exclusion of events in Byzantium, in the old kingdoms of Armenia, or elsewhere, is the main feature of Book Three. Matthew is no longer writing a history of the Armenians; he is writing a history of Edessa, Syria, and its environs, and primarily of the Armenian and other eastern Christian populations under the rule of the Crusader lords. The reader must struggle,



throughout most of this book, to find the connection to the prophecy of Kozeṛn that Matthew had maintained throughout the first two books of his text.

## The rise of Georgia, 1121–9

The Christian prince whose rise was precisely on time, for Matthew's purposes, was David Bagratuni of Georgia. The emergence of Georgia makes up nearly all the items of non-local information within the third book of the Chronicle; in describing the conquests of David and his son Demetrios, Matthew's prose loses the heretofore predominant tone of Christian suffering, and turns instead to Christian joy.

The information Matthew gives about the re-emergence of the kingdom of Georgia is closely corroborated by the *K'art'lis Cxovreba* (the Georgian Chronicle).<sup>61</sup> David was the son of Gēorg II, one of the last remaining Bagratuni kings in the Caucasus after the abdication of Gagik of Kars in 1064.<sup>62</sup> In 1121, he repelled a raid from the emir of Ganjak, the Turkmen emir il-Ghazi, although the Georgian army was massively outnumbered.<sup>63</sup> This was one of the first of a dramatic series of Georgian victories throughout the decade of the 1120s. David captured Tiflis in the same year. Two years later, he defeated another attack from Ganjak and took several cities; the following year, in 573 (1124/5), he took Ani. Matthew duly notes the momentous meaning of this event: 'So the royal capital of Ani was freed from the yoke under which it had been for sixty

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<sup>61</sup> Armenian and Georgian text: S. H. Rapp, *K'art'lis c'xovreba : the Georgian royal annals and their medieval Armenian adaptation*, 1st ed (Delmar, NY: Caravan Books, 1998), 233–56; translation: R. W. Thomson, *Rewriting Caucasian History: the Medieval Armenian Adaptation of the Georgian Chronicles* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), 309–43.

<sup>62</sup> Thomson, *Rewriting Caucasian History*, 313–14.

<sup>63</sup> Matthew of Edessa, *Žamanakagrut'wn* (1898), 348–50.

years...there was rejoicing throughout all Armenia, for everyone was witness to the deliverance of the holy cathedral.’<sup>64</sup> David died in 1125; he was succeeded by his son Demetrios, who continued to build on his military success. Georgia would remain a significant regional power for over two centuries.

Matthew probably began his own Chronicle around 1122, when David began his string of victories; by the time he was writing his third book, the Georgian kingdom was established, and still expanding, under Demetrios. It is possible that the Georgian renaissance, along with his own memories of the momentous events of the early twelfth century, played some role in Matthew’s resolution to write the history of his times, and to press on to the third book despite his conviction that the task was too much for him. Had he finished his Chronicle, the question of the connection he drew between David Bagratuni and the prophetic timeline to which he was working would have almost certainly been more clearly elucidated. There is little doubt, however, that Matthew had Georgia firmly in mind when he wrote of the ‘slow strengthening’ that was to come.

## Conclusion

Although Matthew’s Chronicle covers the history of all the major ethnic groups in the Near East between 950 and 1130, it is primarily a history of the Armenian people. His goal was to place the history of the Armenian Christians into the biblical historiographical tradition that earlier Armenian writers had

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<sup>64</sup>Matthew of Edessa, *Žamanakagrut ‘iwn* (1898), 359.

established, and the means by which he accomplished this was the timeline laid out in the second prophecy attributed to Yovhannēs Kozeṛn.

Matthew's history of the Armenians had necessarily to begin in the era of the independent Bagratuni and Arcruni kingdoms, which to later observers was the golden age of medieval Armenia. The difficulty he faced in the beginning of the Chronicle was a lack of specific information about the events of this era. Other historians, such as Aristakēs and Step'anos Asoḻik, filled the gaps in their information with biblical imagery; Matthew filled his with the more plentiful information he had about Armenia's neighbours, primarily Byzantium. As a consequence of Matthew's inexact information, the information he gives about events in the Armenian kingdoms prior to 1021 must be treated with care. The chronology is more likely than not to be incorrect, and the portrayal of events—particularly the misplaced civil war between the brothers Yovhannēs and Ašot—is likely to be coloured by his need to portray the Armenians of this time as virtuous and strong.

The years between 1016 and 1045 were the critical period during which the rulers of Armenia made the decisions that would lead to full Byzantine annexation of their kingdoms, and the loss of the independence they had won at the end of the ninth century. This was the era during which Yovhannēs Kozeṛn lived and wrote; it is the period in which Matthew places both the prophecies that were attributed to him. Kozeṛn's second prophecy marked the beginning of the chronological calculations that Matthew used to demarcate the history of the Armenians: sixty years of Turkish invasion, the First Crusade, and fifty further years of 'Persian' persecution.

The remainder of the first book of the Chronicle, and the entirety of the second book, illustrate this timeline rather well. Matthew successfully conveys the impression of a desolate and depopulated Armenia, and of Armenian refugees in a foreign and usually hostile land. He illustrates this hostility with his description of the constant harassment of the Arcrunis, the death of Gagik Bagratuni, and the false accusations, religious harassment, and murders of a host of Armenian princes of Cappadocia and Syria. His hostility toward Philaretos, who was his one example of a moderately successful Armenian nobleman of the period, fits very well with the dire prediction of wicked and corrupt princes. His implication that Philaretos bore responsibility for the murder of Gagik II can be tied directly to Kozern's prediction that 'through murder and bloodshed [brothers] strive to destroy one another'; his description of the actions Philaretos took to divide the Armenian church reflect the 'many schisms' that had been predicted; his accusation of Philaretos' apostasy suggests the 'companion[ship] to the infidel' called for by the prophecy. In order to remain true to the timeline that had been set out, Matthew was forced to pass over in silence the rise of many of the more powerful Armenian nobles of this period, including Goł Vasil and the Rubenid princes.

As he came to write the third book of the Chronicle, Matthew became less able to set out a clear trajectory for the history of the Armenians in line with the prophecy. The thread of Armenian history becomes somewhat lost in the local history that he has begun to write instead. He nevertheless stays his course concerning the history of which he is aware, with moderate success. The rise of David Bagratuni of Georgia, which occasions the first consistent focus on non-local history as it pertained to Armenians, is a very good example of the

slow strengthening of the remains of the Christian forces at just the time that the prophecy required.

As Matthew wrote his history, the fifty-year period of warfare and massacre at the hands of the 'Persians' was drawing to a close; the princes of Cilician Armenia were growing in strength, and the Bagratuni kings of Georgia were reclaiming the territory of the lost independent kingdoms. Matthew must have expected the imminent rise of the Roman emperor of prophecy, and must have known at the same time that he would probably not live to see it. The sense of urgency he felt to finish the Chronicle drove him to write the third book, imperfect as it was, so that there would be some historical record 'for the good age, when the Lord God will give what He promised in the end time'.

## Chapter 6

# **‘Under the aegis of the Roman emperor’: the Byzantine Empire in the Chronicle**

As we have seen, the second prophecy of Yovhannēs Kozeṛn provides the over-arching framework for the course of Armenian history over the 180 years about which Matthew intended to write. This structure is not easily discerned, however; the reader may be excused for supposing, after the first several pages of Book One, that Matthew has set out to write a fully universal history. The Chronicle opens not with Armenian history but with a notice about a famine in Edessa. It continues with warfare between Byzantines and Arabs, both in Samosata and in Crete. The first notice about the Armenians themselves comes only at the end of the entry, nine years into the first book.<sup>1</sup> Matthew devotes a great deal of attention to history that cannot specifically be classified as

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<sup>1</sup>Matthew of Edessa, *Žamanakagrut ‘iwn* (1898), 3.

‘Armenian’ history, and does not directly fall within the remit of the prophecy. This ‘external’ history has an important supporting role to play in the fulfilment of that prophecy, however. It is therefore fruitful to examine Matthew’s portrayal of the regional powers within the Chronicle, and to better assess their relevance to Matthew’s conception of the history of his own people.

Within the next two chapters I will examine Matthew’s attitudes toward the three primary groups of ‘foreigners’ within the Chronicle—the Byzantines, the Muslims, and the Latin Crusaders. Each of these groups exercised power over a significant population of Armenians over the course of the Chronicle, and each of them present their own problems of interpretation.

The Byzantine Empire was the ‘protector’ of the Armenian kingdoms during the tenth and early eleventh centuries, a role that was personified in the emperor Basil II. As the Empire lost control of the annexed Armenian kingdoms over the mid- to late eleventh century, and as the Armenians began to come under the control of Muslim emirs affiliated with the Abbasid caliphate, Byzantium fades as an entity within the Chronicle. This shift appears to correspond roughly to the division between those events that occurred before Matthew was born, and those of which he had some first-hand knowledge.

## **The era of growing Byzantine domination over the Armenians**

Byzantine history comprises a major part of Book One of the Chronicle. As the influence of Constantinople diminished in the wake of the Turkish invasions of

Asia Minor and the Crusades, Matthew's account of Byzantine history likewise diminishes over the course of Book Two. Of the sixteen entries within Book Two that treat events in the Empire, only two are dated after the year 526 (1077/8). In Matthew's understanding of the history of his area, Byzantium played a historical role rather than an ongoing one, and events there had very little relevance to him after the late eleventh century. In this chapter I will examine Matthew's portrayal of Byzantine history as it related to the history of the Armenians of Mesopotamia. His chronological reliability is an important key to understanding the extent to which Byzantium was relevant to Armenia and the Armenians; as Byzantine influence waned over the second half of the eleventh century, Matthew's information becomes less precise. Byzantine history is almost entirely absent within Book Three; the only item, in which Matthew records the death of Alexios Komnenos in August 1118 and the accession of his son John, is mis-dated to the year 568 (1119/20). It is therefore necessary to examine Matthew's factual and chronological accuracy, as well as the attitudes he adopts toward Byzantines within the text, in order to better assess the Chronicle's value as a source for general Byzantine history.

Contacts between Armenia and the empire to its west have been attested since the time of the Roman Empire.<sup>2</sup> These links became stronger after the beginning of the fourth century, when both Armenia and Rome adopted Christianity as the official state religion; for the Armenians, this was a break from their Zoroastrian past, and represented a shift away from the Parthian-

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<sup>2</sup>A good overview of the early history of Armenia and its relations with Rome is provided by N. Garsoïan, 'The Emergence of Armenia', chap. 3, in *The Armenian People from Ancient to Modern Times*, vol. 1, ed. R. G. Hovannisian (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2004), 37–62; and N. Garsoïan, 'The Aršakuni Dynasty (A.D. 12–[180?]-428)', chap. 4, in *The Armenian People from Ancient to Modern Times*, vol. 1, ed. R. G. Hovannisian (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2004), 63–94.



and Persian-dominated culture to which they had hitherto belonged. In the sixth century, the emperor Justinian controlled the western part of Trdat's old kingdom; he pursued an active policy of assimilation of these Armenian territories, eliminating the hereditary *naxarar* system,<sup>3</sup> while the regions that remained under Persian control kept some autonomy and had their native hierarchies preserved. The seventh century saw both the Byzantine conquest and subsequent Arab demolition of the Sasanian Empire, and the near-immediate expulsion of Byzantium itself from the majority of its eastern territories by the Arabs. As Byzantium emerged from this military nadir after the eighth century, it began to expand its power and influence into the territories that had been lost to the Arabs. This included eastern Anatolia, which by the end of the eighth century was a patchwork of Armenian principalities and Muslim emirates, controlled primarily by the Abbasid caliphate. When in 887 Ašot I Bagratuni was recognised by the caliph as Armenia's first king since the fifth century, Byzantium (which had never renounced its claim, not only to its former Armenian territories but to all of Armenia)<sup>4</sup> was quick to give official acknowledgement to the new political reality, and to give Ašot the same imperial recognition.

The Armenian religious traditions were a constant target for those who wished to influence the Armenian identity in some way, and the personality of the *katholikos* was crucial to the outcome of these attempts. This ongoing

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<sup>3</sup>N. Garsoïan, 'The Marzpanate (428–652)', chap. 5, in *The Armenian People from Ancient to Modern Times*, vol. 1, ed. R. G. Hovannisian (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2004), 95–115 at 107–10.

<sup>4</sup>The *De Administrando Imperio* illustrates this claim: '...it is right that you should not be ignorant of the parts towards the rising sun, for what reasons they became once more subject to the Byzantines, after they had first fallen away from their control.' Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De Administrando Imperio*, trans. R. J. H. Jenkins and G. Moravcsik (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks, 1993), ch. 43 p. 189.

doctrinal debate was a particular feature of Byzantine-Armenian relations; the history of the disputes and compromises between the (Chalcedonian) Byzantine church and the (Monophysite) Armenian church was closely tied to the secular history of Byzantine / Armenian relations.<sup>5</sup> When the political situation called for cooperation with Armenia, the ecclesiastical mood was one of compromise. In the ninth century, when Byzantium was most anxious to restore alliances with Armenia, the churches met at the Council of Širakawan in 862. The records from this council provide a striking example of the extent to which Constantinople was willing to compromise on doctrinal issues.<sup>6</sup> When, in the late tenth and the eleventh centuries, the Byzantine emperors wished to assert their suzerainty over Armenia, frequent religious disputes arose. The accounts of contemporary Armenian historians contain numerous examples of religious disputes between the Greek and Armenian churches.

Beginning in 963 with the accession of Nikephoros Phokas (963–9), the Byzantine re-conquest of its lost eastern territory accelerated. Although Armenia was not subject to military conquest, the various kingdoms gradually lost their independence over the following century. The principality of Tarōn was the first to be annexed. The princes of Tarōn were a branch of the Bagratuni family, had held Byzantine imperial titles since the early half of the century, and traditionally turned to Constantinople to settle their disputes.<sup>7</sup> Although

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<sup>5</sup>K. H. Maksoudian, 'The Chalcedonian Issue and the Early Bagratids: The Council of Širakawan', *Revue des études arméniennes* 21 (1988–9): 333–44.

<sup>6</sup>For the council of Širakawan itself, see Maksoudian, 'Council of Širakawan'; for recent scholarship on the correspondence between the Byzantine patriarch Photios and the Armenian katholikos Zak'aria, see T. Greenwood, 'Failure of a Mission? Photius and the Armenian Church', *Le Muséon* 119/1–2 (2006): 123–67; I. Dorfmann-Lazarev, *Arméniens et Byzantins à l'époque de Photius: deux débats théologiques après le triomphe de l'orthodoxie* (Leuven: Peeters, 2004).

<sup>7</sup>Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *DAL*, ch. 43.

the link between Byzantine imperial service and Chalcedonian confession is far from clear,<sup>8</sup> the grant of imperial titles also suggests that, unlike the majority of the Armenian nobility, the Taronites were in communion with the church of Constantinople. After the death of the prince Ašot in 967/8, his sons Grigor and Bagrat submitted to Byzantine pressure for annexation. Nikephoros II received them, and “conferred upon them the dignity of *patrikios* and liberally assigned to them rich revenue-producing lands.”<sup>9</sup> The Taronites went on to hold important posts within the empire,<sup>10</sup> including military command in the war against Bulgaria during the reign of Basil II.<sup>11</sup> Although the annexation of Tarōn is not referenced within the Chronicle, it set a precedent for the later annexations that are described in detail within Book One. This is how matters stood at the point at which Matthew begins to record his own history.

## Chronological and factual accuracy

A good barometer to Matthew’s attitude toward Byzantium is provided by the factual accuracy of the events he reports. In general, although his chronological reliability throughout Book One is wildly erratic, the dates he gives for events concerning Byzantium are usually accurate to within a year or two during those periods in which Byzantium played an active role in the history of the Armenians. For the tenth century, Matthew primarily chronicles Byzantine

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<sup>8</sup>See discussion in N. Garsoïan, ‘The Problem of Armenian Integration into the Byzantine Empire’, in *Studies on the internal diaspora of the Byzantine Empire*, ed. H. Ahrweiler and A. E. Laiou (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks, 1998), 86 ff.

<sup>9</sup>Skylitzēs, *Synopsis historiōn*, 234–5.

<sup>10</sup>N. Garsoïan, ‘The Byzantine Annexation of the Armenian Kingdoms in the Eleventh Century’, chap. 8, in *The Armenian People from Ancient to Modern Times, vol. 1*, ed. R. G. Hovannisian (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 2004), 187–98 at 189.

<sup>11</sup>Holmes, *Basil II*, 194–6.

history. It first appears in his second entry, for the year 407 (968/9), which describes the capture of Samosata during the reign of Romanos II. Leaving aside Matthew's entry for the year 420 (971/2), which almost certainly belongs to the year 470 (1021/2),<sup>12</sup> the majority of the history Matthew records before 470 is Byzantine history.

Even here, Matthew's chronology is not perfectly accurate. He mis-dates the Byzantine capture of Crete, which occurred in 961, to the year 408 (959/60). He conflates the 986 defeat of Basil II in Bulgaria and the October 989 earthquake of Constantinople into a single year, 437 (988/9), and places them after the revolt of Bardas Phokas. Phokas' revolt took place in 987, in the aftermath of Basil's defeat in Bulgaria; Matthew's date for this is also in error. He, like Step'anos Asolik before him, assigned the revolt to the year 435 (986/7).

These three chronological mistakes all show an intriguing correlation with the Greek history of Leo the Deacon. Leo, writing in the decade of the 990s, composed an account of the reigns of Romanos II, Nikephoros Phokas, and John Tzimiskes. He indicates in book 10 that he intended to continue his history into the reign of Basil II,<sup>13</sup> and he does briefly digress into events during Basil's reign, but the history that has come down to us ends with the death of Tzimiskes. His history is notoriously difficult to use for exact dating—he gives only four firm dates throughout, and these have been miscalculated, so that they do not accord with the indiction year he gives. If Matthew is using, directly or indirectly, the

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<sup>12</sup>See above, p. 101.

<sup>13</sup>Leo the Deacon, *The History of Leo the Deacon: Byzantine Military Expansion in the Tenth Century*, trans. A.-M. Talbot and D. F. Sullivan (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks, 2005), 218.

history of Leo, this could explain a number of the chronological peculiarities present within the early part of Book One.<sup>14</sup>

Given his relative chronological accuracy for tenth-century Byzantine history, and the apparent reliance on a known Byzantine source, the wild divergence in the factual (i.e. non-chronological) content of Matthew's account is jarring. Most of these errors are unique in the historical record; the nature of his divergence fits well with the factual inaccuracies of his account of tenth-century Armenia. In both these cases, it seems, Matthew was not particularly concerned with historical veracity. His objective was to portray the past according to the Biblical and prophetic paradigm within which he worked. Just as the Armenian kings were uniformly valourous and pious, the Byzantine empire was strong, protective of its Christian minorities, and victorious against the Muslim enemy.

The inaccuracy can be seen from the outset. In his entry for the year 407 (958/9), in which he has correctly placed the battle of Samosata, he describes an Arab victory over the Byzantine defenders of the city.<sup>15</sup> According to both Step'anos Asoġik<sup>16</sup> and Yahyā ibn Sa'id,<sup>17</sup> it was the Byzantine attackers who defeated the Muslim defenders.

Matthew's account of the murder of Nikephoros Phokas by John Tzimiskes has several features that are unique—Tzimiskes as a prisoner condemned to die, the empress embracing her husband and tightening his sword in its scabbard,

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<sup>14</sup>For instance, Basil's defeat at Triaditza in Bulgaria in 986 and the earthquake that destroyed the dome of Hagia Sophia in 989 are dated by both Matthew (Matthew of Edessa, *Žamanakagrut 'iwn* (1898), 39–40) and Skylitzes (Skylitzēs, *Synopsis historiōn*, 277) to the same year; they are described together, out of chronological sequence and with no clear dating information, in Book X of Leo's history.

<sup>15</sup>Matthew of Edessa, *Žamanakagrut 'iwn* (1898), 2.

<sup>16</sup>Asoġik, *Histoire universelle*, 38.

<sup>17</sup>Yahyā ibn Sa'id al-Antaki, 'Histoire de Yahya ibn Said d'Antioche, part 1', in *Patrologia Orientalis*, ed. I. Kratchkovsky, trans. A. A. Vasiliev (Paris: Brepols, 1924), 771–5.

the gory details of the murder itself, the empress' intention to poison her own sons Basil and Constantine.<sup>18</sup> He is the only historian to suggest that Tzimiskes had been romantically involved with the ruler of Amida, the sister of Hamdan (Sayf ad-Dawlah) and that this led to his sparing the city. He is also the only historian who suggests that Tzimiskes voluntarily abdicated in favour of Basil II. Yahya records only the date of the emperor's death;<sup>19</sup> Asolik simply states that the emperor died in his palace;<sup>20</sup> and the Greek historians of the period agree that he fell ill while on campaign in the East and died upon his return to the city.<sup>21</sup> Matthew's versions of events have an element of the fantastical; they could perhaps arise from local myth, that is, from oral history that was transmitted independently of written sources. It seems that Matthew has drawn his dates from written records, but has chosen to record the history of tenth-century events as they were commonly understood in Edessa in the 1130s.

Although Matthew's factual accuracy for these years is found to be deeply wanting, the centrepiece of his record of tenth-century Byzantium—the letter from John Tzimiskes written to Ašot II Bagratuni, probably in 972—is not. The letter itself is not entirely factual; Tzimiskes did campaign in the East with great success, but his sweeping claims, such as the statement that 'now all Phoenicia and Palestine and Syria have been freed from captivity by the Muslims and have accepted Roman sovereignty'<sup>22</sup> are not substantiated by the accounts of Asolik, Skylitzes, Leo the Deacon, or Yahyā. The text nevertheless has the hallmarks

<sup>18</sup>Matthew of Edessa, *Žamanakagrut 'iwn* (1898), 6–7.

<sup>19</sup>Yahyā ibn Sa'īd al-Antaki, 'Histoire de Yahya ibn Sa'id d'Antioche, part 2', in *Patrologia Orientalis*, ed. I. Kratchkovsky, trans. A. A. Vasilev (Paris: Brepols, 1932), 371.

<sup>20</sup>Asolik, *Histoire universelle*, 49.

<sup>21</sup>Skylitzēs, *Synopsis historiōn*, 260–1; Leo, *History*, 218–21.

<sup>22</sup>Matthew of Edessa, *Žamanakagrut 'iwn* (1898), 26.

of a translation from the Greek, as Dulaurier noted in the preface to his own translation.<sup>23</sup> The end of the letter is garbled, and the text suggests that it was originally a separate letter, concerning the return of the fortress Ayceac<sup>6</sup> to Byzantine control.<sup>24</sup> This is followed in turn by one written to the *vardapet* Lewond. This suggests that both (or possibly all three) letters formed part of an archive of royal and ecclesiastical documents. It is possible that Matthew had access to the archive itself; if so, it may have included the initial versions of the prophecies of Kozeṛn, as well as the confession of faith allegedly proffered by Gagik II to the emperor Constantine Doukas in 1065 (though see below, page 208), and the letter written by the katholikos Grigor III in the wake of the Easter controversy of 1102. It is more probable, however, that the letters of Tzimiskes to Ašot and to Lewond, as well as one or both of the prophecies, formed part of another historical work that Matthew used as a source, and that the corruption originated either from this source or from Matthew himself. The text of Kozeṛn's first prophecy is known to have formed part of the history of Yakob Sanahnec<sup>6</sup>i, which was almost certainly a major source for the Chronicle;<sup>25</sup> Sanahnec<sup>6</sup>i's work could well have also been Matthew's source for these letters.

The common theme of the history of Byzantium through the reign of Basil II, as presented by Matthew, is military success together with harmony between

<sup>23</sup>Matthew of Edessa (Matt<sup>6</sup>ēos Urhayec<sup>6</sup>i), *Chronique, 962-1136, avec la continuation de Grégoire le prêtre jusqu'en 1162*, trans. E. Dulaurier (Paris, 1858), preface, pp. xvi-xvii.

<sup>24</sup>The text reads: ...զորս ընդ ձեռամբ մերով հնազանդեցոյց Աստուած, ընդ որում հանապազօր օրհնեալ տէր Աստուած Իսրայելի: Եւ յանափոռտէն պռտօսպաթրին Դերջնայ, Լևոնի և Տարօնոյ զօրավարին ողջոյն և ի տէր խնդալ: Արդ գրեցաք որ զԱյծեաց բերդն որպէս յանձին կալար՝ չես տուեալ. ... ('which God subjected through us, for which the lord God of Israel is blessed every day. And from the report [ἀναφορά] of the *protospatharios* of Derjn, Levon and general of Tarōn, greetings and joy in the Lord. Now we have written that you have not given the Ayceac<sup>6</sup> fortress as you promised. ...' (Matthew of Edessa, *Žamanakagrut 'iwn* (1898), 27)

<sup>25</sup>Xač<sup>6</sup>ikyan, 'Yakob Sanahnec<sup>6</sup>i', 29–32.

Greeks and Armenians. Nikephoros Phokas is portrayed as a pious and victorious warrior-king. John Tzimiskes was guilty of regicide, but he too was a victorious emperor who avenged the defeats of his generals<sup>26</sup> and who repented of his wrongs in the end, by abdicating in favour of Basil.

The reign of Basil II presents a problem for the modern historian due to its paucity of coverage in the extant historiography.<sup>27</sup> His reign is widely regarded as the political and military apogee of the Byzantine empire, but every surviving history speaks only of a few events within those fifty years. Basil had immediately to cope with a rebellion by his general Bardas Skleros; the Skleros rebellion was put down with the help of another general, Bardas Phokas. After roughly ten years, Basil led a campaign against Tsar Samuel of Bulgaria. This campaign ended in a military disaster at Triaditza (Sardica) that wiped out a huge number of Byzantine troops, and from which Basil himself only narrowly escaped. This defeat precipitated the revolt of Bardas Phokas, who made a short-lived alliance with Skleros before betraying and blinding him, and who mysteriously dropped dead on the field before the decisive battle with Basil. The next twenty-five years of Basil's reign were taken up with campaigns to subjugate the Bulgarians; the Byzantines were finally victorious around 1018. Basil had only to suppress one further revolt, that of Nikephoros 'Crook-neck' Phokas and Nikephoros Xiphias, in the final years of his reign. He died in December 1025, with no heir other than his elderly brother Constantine VIII and Constantine's daughters Zoe and Theodora.

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<sup>26</sup>e.g. the death in captivity of Mleh/Melias, a general of Nikephoros Phokas. See Matthew of Edessa, *Žamanakagrut 'iwn* (1898), 15–19.

<sup>27</sup>For a good examination of Basil's reign and the historiographical problems it poses, see Holmes, *Basil II*.



The events recorded by Matthew conform to precisely this pattern, although even here he is not tremendously accurate. He begins his coverage of Basil's reign with the claim that Tzimiskes abdicated in his favour; he dates the accession to 424 (March 975 - March 976), a year early. His account of the revolt of Bardas Skleros, which was supported by some of the Armenian princes,<sup>28</sup> is dated correctly; however, it is wholly uncomplimentary to Skleros, generalised, and inaccurate. He describes Skleros' defeat and flight to Baghdad, but says nothing about the role of Bardas Phokas in suppressing Skleros' revolt. The rebellion lasted for three years; Matthew claims instead that Skleros remained in Baghdad for three years, and then 'came and died in the land of his own people, the Romans.'<sup>29</sup>

This misunderstanding affects in turn his description of the revolt of Phokas. Matthew, who seems to be unaware of the role of Skleros in this second revolt, conflates the two rebels. He states that the imperial army 'drove him [Phokas] to the Tačik land; when he returned after one year he was killed by the emperor Basil.'<sup>30</sup> It was Skleros, not Phokas, who went into exile in Baghdad.

In keeping with the usual pattern of narration of the reign of Basil, Matthew turns next to the wars in Bulgaria. This is a rare departure from the usual focus on Asia Minor—he has omitted any mention of the campaigns of Nikephoros Phokas or John Tzimiskes against the Bulgarians. By the time of Basil's campaigns there, the Bagratuni princes of Tarōn had ceded their principality to

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<sup>28</sup>Dédéyan, *Les Arméniens entre Grecs, Musulmans et Croisés*, 10–14.

<sup>29</sup>Matthew of Edessa, *Žamanakagrut iwn* (1898), 34.

<sup>30</sup>*Ibid.*, 39.

the empire and had been sent as military commanders to the west.<sup>31</sup> Although this Armenian link is not mentioned by Matthew, it may well explain his interest in the campaigns that were fought there, far from the usual geographic reach of the Chronicle.

In 465 (1016/7), the Turkish invasions began in Vaspurakan. Matthew's next few entries, which survive only in manuscript A, relate the emperor's march into Armenia in 470 (1021/2). His account ends with the apocryphal tale of Basil's re-baptism according to the Armenian rite, with which he 'thereafter became like a father to the Armenian nation'.<sup>32</sup> This story appears to be part of a developing tradition concerning Basil, whose progression may be traced from the history of Aristakēs, through the extant fragment of the history of Yakob Sanahnec'i, to Matthew and his successor Smbat Sparapēt.<sup>33</sup> There is a lacuna in the text here; when it resumes, Matthew has moved on to the revolt of Nikephoros 'Crook-neck' Phokas. In the description he gives of the rebellion, the clear implication is that the Armenian princes were complicit in the rebellion against Basil as a result of his demands for their territory. He describes the retaliation Basil took against Gēorg for his support of the rebel; the Georgian king was finally compelled to submit to the emperor and to send his son to Constantinople as a hostage. Matthew ends this pair of entries with an account of the Byzantine siege of Her, in Persian territory. The siege was broken by a summer snowstorm and subsequent flood, which trapped the Byzantine

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<sup>31</sup>Asolik, *Histoire universelle*, 44 for the cession of Tarōn, 145–6 for the Taronites' role in the Bulgarian campaign; see also Holmes, *Basil II*, 194–5 for the interest of Asolik in the deeds of the Taronites.

<sup>32</sup>Matthew of Edessa, *Žamanakagrut 'iwn* (1898), 50.

<sup>33</sup>Xač'ikyan, 'Yakob Sanahnec'i', 26.

troops. This event is also recorded by Aristakēs.<sup>34</sup> Although the facts in the two accounts are in agreement with each other, the difference in interpretation is striking. According to Aristakēs, the storm was ‘their [i.e. the Byzantines’] retribution for the merciless sword which they inflicted upon the Christians’—this was divine punishment for the sin Basil had committed by fighting the Georgians.<sup>35</sup> Matthew, in contrast, reports that Basil had 13,000 of his own soldiers killed in order to make the muddy land passable, and to allow for the escape of the remainder of his army.<sup>36</sup> His aim here is to show Basil as the merciless, efficient, and still undefeated emperor—the warrior-king who has just inherited responsibility for all Armenia.

Matthew has thus related the history concerning each of the three warrior-emperors of the tenth century—Nikephoros Phokas, John Tzimiskes, and Basil II—according to the pattern that is common in most of the surviving tenth- and eleventh-century historiography from Byzantium and Armenia. He has supplemented the outlines of this common history with non-factual anecdotes that have no analogue in any other history; it seems likely that they come from local legend rather than recorded history. In particular, he has followed a tradition that appears in the extant fragments of the chronicle of Sanahnec‘i, in which the history of Basil was re-written into a myth of the adoptive father of the Armenians. He was sent to an Armenian foster-mother during his childhood in order to escape the murderous intentions of his own mother; he put down a succession of rebellions against his rule; after he was humiliated in Bulgaria, he returned to ‘deliver the entire West to ruin and captivity, and take the Bulgarian

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<sup>34</sup>Aristakēs, *Patmut ‘iwn*, 38–9.

<sup>35</sup>Thomson, ‘Aristakes of Lastivert’, 79–80.

<sup>36</sup>Matthew of Edessa, *Žamanakagrut ‘iwn* (1898), 52.

kingdoms to extermination.<sup>37</sup> Eventually he turned to Armenia, where the native princes abandoned their territory to him because they were too weak (e.g. Senek'ërim), too cowardly (e.g. Yovhannēs), or too foolhardy (e.g. Gēorg) to hold it in their own right. In so doing, he accepted consecration from the leader of the Armenian church, and secret re-baptism from the Armenians of the Black Mountains. On his deathbed, he 'entrusted his entire kingdom to [his brother Constantine] and made him resolute about Armenia, that he would care for that nation with fatherly love.'<sup>38</sup> The merciless and unconquerable warrior-emperor had, according to Matthew's understanding, replaced the Bagratuni princes as the true king of Armenia. It was his successors, not Basil himself, who would betray the Armenians and would cause the fall of the kingdom.

The rot did not set in immediately. Constantine VIII reigned as sole emperor for three years (1025–8); his reign was not marked by any significant territorial expansion or frontier campaigns. Although the Greek historians, Skylitzes and Psellos, are uncomplimentary toward Constantine, Matthew and his fellow Armenian Aristakēs claim that he was a generous and peaceful ruler.<sup>39</sup> The first stirrings of trouble, in Matthew's view, came during the reign of Constantine's son-in-law Romanos III (1028–34). Romanos personally led a campaign against Aleppo that ended in the emperor's defeat and ignominious flight.<sup>40</sup> Matthew calls him 'a great blasphemer of the Orthodox faith'; this seems to be a reference to the accusation levelled against him by Aristakēs, that he disdained the prayers of the Armenian monks of the Black Mountain and had them

<sup>37</sup>Matthew of Edessa, *Žamanakagrut 'iwn* (1898), 46.

<sup>38</sup>*Ibid.*, 55.

<sup>39</sup>Matthew of Edessa, *Žamanakagrut 'iwn* (1898), 56–7; Aristakēs, *Patmut 'iwn*, 40–2.

<sup>40</sup>Matthew of Edessa, *Žamanakagrut 'iwn* (1898), 57–8; Aristakēs, *Patmut 'iwn*, 43–4; Skylitzēs, *Synopsis historiōn*, 315–6.

conscripted into his army. Romanos' bad judgement is confirmed by Matthew when he describes the aftermath of the capture of Edessa by George Maniakes: 'Now after all these events and troubles and evils that the brave Maniakes had endured, Romanos replaced him and gave Edessa to Abukab the tent-guard of David Curopalates.'<sup>41</sup> As is fitting for such a presentation, Romanos came to no good end. Matthew reports that he was poisoned by his empress,<sup>42</sup> and thus preserves a rumour to which Skylitzes alludes in his own history.<sup>43</sup>

The reign of Michael IV (1034–41) is not given a great deal of coverage in the Chronicle. Matthew records a Byzantine expedition in 484 (1035/6) against the 'Tačkounk'<sup>44</sup> who had attacked Edessa, Alar, and Sewawerak. The expedition was led by Michael's brother, who got as far as Melitene before he was 'frightened' and turned back without a fight. Upon their return, he claims, they 'pillaged the Christians more than the Persian army had done.'<sup>45</sup> To Matthew, this was clear evidence of what was to come: the empire of Byzantium, which had assumed sovereignty over Armenia in the person of Basil II, had begun to abdicate its responsibility toward its subjects.

Matthew begins to portray the political weakening of Byzantium itself in his entry for 489 (1040/1) describing a Bulgar rebellion. He records that Michael invaded Bulgaria, and the Bulgarians raised an army and drove the emperor back to Constantinople. Matthew believed that the Bulgarians had done what the Armenians could not: 'the Bulgars strengthened themselves against the

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<sup>41</sup>Matthew of Edessa, *Žamanakagrut iwn* (1898), 64.

<sup>42</sup>*Ibid.*, 64–5.

<sup>43</sup>Skylitzēs, *Synopsis historiōn*, 323–4.

<sup>44</sup>Skylitzes gives 'Mesopotamian Arabs'; Cheynet has taken this as a reference to Naṣr ad-Dawlah, the emir of Harran (*Synopsis historiōn*, 331 n. 38). For further discussion of Matthew's confusing use of ethnic labels for the Muslims, see below, p. 170.

<sup>45</sup>Matthew of Edessa, *Žamanakagrut iwn* (1898), 66.

Greeks and took their entire land and escaped the servitude to the Romans; and a great peace came over the Bulgarian land.<sup>46</sup> To highlight the contrast, Matthew here begins his tale of the loss of the Armenian kingdom of Ani.

There is an account at the end of Matthew's entry for this year, just before the death of Yovhannēs of Ani, concerning the emigrant Arcrunis. With this, he begins to portray the hostility between Greeks and Armenians that will come to dominate Book Two. The sons of Senek'erim, Atom and Abusahl, who now held land in Sebasteia, were accused of plotting rebellion against the emperor Michael. When they were arrested and brought to Constantinople to answer the charges, we are told, they 'rushed weeping to the tomb of the king Basil and threw their oath-paper upon the tomb and said "You brought us to the land of the Romans, and behold they threaten us with death. Give us justice from our enemy, O our father!"'<sup>47</sup> Once again, Matthew has invoked Basil as the father of the Armenian nation. The brothers' lament was effective; he claims that Michael was swayed by this spectacle and ordered the denouncer to be punished.

In his entry for 490 (1041 / 2), Matthew describes the first attempt of Michael to enforce the 1021 treaty with Yovhannēs by taking control of Ani. The Armenians rallied under the general Vahram Pahlawuni, and rebuffed the Byzantine forces. Michael was distracted shortly thereafter by the need to suppress the rebellion in Bulgaria; Matthew states that he levied troops from the Armenian territories already controlled by Byzantium for this purpose. Michael died shortly after this campaign, in December 1041; Matthew describes the short-lived reign of his nephew Michael V that followed in the first months of 1042.

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<sup>46</sup>Matthew of Edessa, *Žamanakagrut iwn* (1898), 78–9.

<sup>47</sup>Ibid., 83.

His account of the reign and downfall of Michael V does not differ significantly from that of other histories of the period. The tale serves to reinforce Matthew's presentation of the increasing profligacy and irresponsibility of the imperial successors of Basil II.

Like the other Armenian historians, Matthew is overwhelmingly hostile to the next emperor, Constantine IX Monomachos (1042–55). He begins his account of Monomachos' reign with a description of the revolt of George Maniakes, the general who had brought Edessa under Byzantine control. Monomachos was crowned in June 1042, and Maniakes' revolt ended with his sudden death in February 1043. Matthew has mis-dated his account by one year, showing that he failed to account for the year that passed after the downfall of Michael V. He moves immediately to the loss of Ani, giving a date of early 493 (this year began in March 1044). Monomachos brought the young Bagratuni king Gagik II to Constantinople, and held him at court until he agreed to relinquish his kingdom to the empire, according to the concession made by his uncle Yovhannēs to Basil in 1021/2. Like his compatriot Aristakēs, Matthew has very few positive things to say about Byzantium from this point onward. His next several entries describe campaigns in the newly annexed Armenian territories against the 'Persians'; only one of them, led by the eunuch 'teliarch',<sup>48</sup> met with any success. Amid these battles in the east, Monomachos had to contend with a rebellion by Leo Tornikios in 1047. This rebellion is also described by Matthew; the facts he gives agree in their essentials with the

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<sup>48</sup>This is almost certainly a garbled reference to the *hetaireiarch* Constantine. See Shepard, 'Scylitzes on Armenia', 301–2.

accounts of Skylitzes and Attaleiates.<sup>49</sup> He explains that the patriarch and the aristocracy of Constantinople reconciled Tornikios to the emperor with an oath and an alliance, but that ‘after a few days they denied their oath and denied the mediator God, as it is common for the Roman people to destroy all the nobles of the land by means of an oath.’<sup>50</sup> This is an unmistakable reference to the oath that Monomachos allegedly made to the young king Gagik II, shortly before he deprived him of Ani. The episode serves to reinforce Matthew’s general accusations of Byzantine faithlessness.

The remainder of Book One alternates between reports of Persian invasions in the east and Byzantine ‘perfidy’ toward various Armenian noblemen. Matthew describes Monomachos’ invitation to the katholikos Petros to come to Constantinople; just as with Gagik, Monomachos prevented Petros’ return to Ani.<sup>51</sup> The katholikos eventually settled in Sebasteia, under the dominion of the Arcruni brothers. Meanwhile, in the wake of the sack of Arcn by the Saljuq Turks in 1048, which was dated by both Matthew and Aristakēs to 498 (1049/50), the three men who had been appointed to govern the newly-created themes in Byzantine Armenia—Katakalon Kekaumenos, Aaron of Bulgaria, and Grigor Magistros—were dispatched to fight them. Matthew describes the dissension between the Byzantine commanders and the Georgian prince Liparit, and the resulting Turkish victory, including Liparit’s capture.<sup>52</sup> He turns next to the Pecheneg invasion of Byzantium on its north-western frontier for the year 499

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<sup>49</sup>Matthew of Edessa, *Žamanakagrut ‘iwn* (1898), 100–2; Skylitzēs, *Synopsis historiōn*, 365–8; Attaleiatēs, Michael, *Historia*, ed. I. Pérez Martín (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 2002), 18.

<sup>50</sup>Matthew of Edessa, *Žamanakagrut ‘iwn* (1898), 101–2.

<sup>51</sup>*Ibid.*, 104–7.

<sup>52</sup>*Ibid.*, 107–9.



(1050/1); in keeping with his portrayal of the Byzantines after Basil II as weak, he claims that 'the frightened emperor did not dare to go into battle, for the enemy forces were innumerable and uncountable.'<sup>53</sup> His final entry, for the year 500 (1051/2), returns to court politics under Monomachos. 'Perfidious people' had denounced a quartet of Armenian brothers, the 'sons of Abel'; Monomachos sent a general to deal with the situation; the eldest brother was killed and the other three were held in Constantinople.<sup>54</sup>

Book Two begins as a smooth continuation of the themes of Muslim invasion and Byzantine fractiousness. Matthew records the death of Monomachos in 504 (1055/6), and gives a summary of the reign of Theodora. Once again, the empress is given the role of ultimate arbiter of justice for her Armenian subjects; she 'freed the Armenian princes, the sons of Habel and the brothers of Harpik, from prison [...] and with great honour she released them to their paternal lands, to the fortress Arkni, but she ordered that they transgress no more. And in the same year she replaced the *katepan* Peros'<sup>55</sup> who, according to the final entry of Book One, had been responsible for the brothers' unjust imprisonment.

Here, however, Matthew's chronology on matters Byzantine begins once again to fall into confusion. Monomachos, whose date of death is given as 504, died in January 1055 (late 503 in the Armenian calendar.) According to Matthew's dating arithmetic, Theodora then reigned for two years and three months, and was succeeded by Michael VI Stratiotikos, who reigned for seven months before his deposition by Isaac Komnenos, inconsistently dated to 505 (1056/7). In fact, Theodora died after a year and a half, in August 1056 (505

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<sup>53</sup>Matthew of Edessa, *Žamanakagrut 'iwn* (1898), 109.

<sup>54</sup>*Ibid.*, 109–12.

<sup>55</sup>*Ibid.*, 122.

in the Armenian calendar); Michael VI reigned for a year before abdicating in favour of Isaac Komnenos in August 1057 (506 in the Armenian calendar). Isaac himself reigned for two years, and then abdicated in favour of Constantine X Doukas in November 1059 (Armenian year 508). Matthew's chronology for the succession during these years is striking not only for its error but also for its internal inconsistency, which is not typical within the Chronicle. It suggests that whatever reliable source he was using for the dates of Byzantine imperial reigns ended around the Armenian year 500.

Matthew describes the reign of Isaac Komnenos as a period of dissension and military defeat for the Byzantines. He claims that the emperor 'had committed various acts of treachery against the Christians',<sup>56</sup> and was consequently unpopular. After Isaac ceded the throne to Constantine Doukas, he says, the new emperor 'ruled despotically over the Greek empire and brought all the unconvinced to acquiescence, and there was joy throughout the entire Greek nation because of Doukas.'<sup>57</sup> Once again the message is one of weakness, dissension, and persecution of Christians by their own emperor.

## **The waning of Byzantine influence**

Although he describes joy among the Greeks upon the accession of Constantine Doukas, Matthew did not consider the occasion joyous for the Armenians. He returns to the topic of Byzantium after his description of the sack of Sebasteia in 508 (1059/60), where he launches into a full diatribe against the Byzantines

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<sup>56</sup>Matthew of Edessa, *Žamanakagrut 'iwn* (1898), 125.

<sup>57</sup>Ibid., 127.

for their 'abandonment' of Armenia and their failure to act in the wake of the Turkish invasions:

Who would be able to go into the details of the wrathful destruction and the repentant mourning of this Armenian nation, which it bore at the hands of the impious and bloodthirsty beasts of the Turkish army, out of anarchy from the false guardians, the weak and feeble craven race of the Greeks? For one by one they brought the brave soldiers of the Armenian nation to destruction, taking them from their houses and out of the region, and abolishing the throne of the Armenian kingdom. They destroyed the barrier of guardian armies and commanders, and the boasts of the unfailing bravery of the Romans turned to flight. They resembled the craven shepherd who flees when he sees the wolf. Nevertheless the Romans diligently exerted themselves in this respect, for when they heard of the fortification wall of the Armenian nation, they destroyed it and dispatched the Persians with their swords and regarded all this as a success for themselves, and they themselves shamelessly tried to guard Armenia with castrated generals and eunuch troops, while the Persians saw all the East lordless. And then the foreigners strengthened themselves immensely, so that in one year they reached up to the gates of Constantinople and took all the Roman land, the coastal cities and their islands, and made the Greek nation prisoners inside Constantinople. And when they took Armenia from the Greeks, all the torments of the Romans against the Armenian nation were stopped. And after this they contrived in another way to stir up battle against the Armenians; they sat in examination of the Armenians and in this way shunned the exertion of war, battle, and struggle and settled into the arrangement of squabbles in the church of God. They willingly avoided war with the Persians and tried to hinder all the true faithful in Christ and dislodge them from their faith, for when they found a brave and strong man, they would blind his eyes or, hurling him into the sea, would strangle him to death. And that was their zealous desire, as they took all the Armenian princes and the brave soldiers from the East and carried them off to live in Greece. And then they turned their own flower of youth into eunuchs and they dressed them in long and broad garments instead of close chain mail, which the brave wear, and instead of steel helmets they put on hoods, and instead of iron on their backs they put wide neck-cloths on their shoulders; and they spoke like

meek and docile women, and constantly pondered the waste of brave young men. And by the hands of these men, the faithful were betrayed into captivity in the land of Persia.<sup>58</sup>

With this long polemic, Matthew begins to focus on the religious dissension that arose once more between the Byzantine and the Armenian churches, placing the blame squarely upon Constantine Doukas. His account of the quarter-century of Byzantine domination focuses almost exclusively on these two themes—Byzantine inaction in the face of Turkish invasion and massacres of Christians, and their concentration instead on religious persecution of the Armenians. The Armenian katholikos at the time was Xač'ik, whose residence was in Sebasteia near the Arcruni brothers. Matthew, who claims that the Byzantine authorities were seeking the gold and silver wealth that Xač'ik's predecessor Petros had accumulated, as well as the submission of the Armenian church to the church of Constantinople, describes his forcible removal to Constantinople for three years, and claims that 'in those days many dangers befell the Armenian faith.'<sup>59</sup> Shortly after the death of Xač'ik in 514 (1065/6), Matthew describes at length a new religious conflict between the Greek and Armenian churches; this is the dispute that led to the appearance of Gagik II in Constantinople, allegedly in order to repudiate the act of union that was on the point of being agreed between the Empire and the remainder of the Armenian nobility.<sup>60</sup>

Even at this late stage, and despite his hostility toward Constantine Doukas, Matthew still considered the emperor to be the dispenser of justice for Armenian subjects who had been wronged by malicious Greek subjects. In an account

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<sup>58</sup>Matthew of Edessa, *Žamanakagrut' iwn* (1898), 135–6.

<sup>59</sup>*Ibid.*, 138.

<sup>60</sup>See below, p. 208.

of a Turkish invasion of T'lxum (north of Amida on the Tigris river) in 511 (1062/3) he describes the death of Dawatanos, the Armenian *doux* of Edessa, and attributes it to the treachery of the 'Greek' general Frankopoulos (that is, the Latin mercenary Hervé.) 'Now when the king Doukas heard about the death of Dawatanos, which had come about through the treachery of Frankopoulos, he summoned him to Constantinople and drowned him, tying a stone around his neck and tossing him into the Ocean.'<sup>61</sup> A very similar incident is described a few years later, in the entry for 514 (1064/5). T'lxum was once again under attack; Matthew writes that the Byzantine *doux* of Edessa, Niketas Pegonites, conspired with his lieutenant to have the Armenian *doux* of Antioch, Xač'atur,<sup>62</sup> killed in the battle. When he realised the intention, says Matthew, 'Pext said "O apostate Romans, do you do this in your treachery?"' He returned to Edessa, and after a few days went to the city of Antioch; and he notified the king Doukas of all this in writing. And the king seized Prok'simos and flayed his body and stuffed his skin with grass, and sent to Edessa and deprived Pegonites of his rank.'<sup>63</sup> Neither of these incidents is recorded in other sources, nor is the death of Hervé—his activities during the reigns of Constantine IX and Michael VI are recorded by Skylitzes,<sup>64</sup> and he is known from a surviving seal to have held the office of *stratelatēs* of Anatolia shortly before this time, probably during the reign of Isaac Comnenos,<sup>65</sup> but apart from Matthew's account there is no

<sup>61</sup>Matthew of Edessa, *Žamanakagrut 'iwn* (1898), 144; also see above, p. 117.

<sup>62</sup>In the Chronicle, Matthew refers to Xač'atur as 'Pext'; this seems to be a corruption of the Byzantine title *epeiktes*. See Dédéyan, *Les Arméniens entre Grecs, Musulmans et Croisés*, 37–9 for a full argument for the identification of 'Pext' as Xač'atur.

<sup>63</sup>Matthew of Edessa, *Žamanakagrut 'iwn* (1898), 158.

<sup>64</sup>Skylitzēs, *Synopsis historiōn*, 386–7, 399–401.

<sup>65</sup>G. Schlumberger, 'Deux chefs normands au XIe siècle', *Revue historique* 16 (1881): 289–303 at 295.

further evidence of his activities during the reign of Constantine X. Whether true or apocryphal, the tales serve to reinforce the valour of the Armenians, the duplicity of the Byzantine nobility, and the recognition by the highest authority that the Byzantines in question were in the wrong. The fact that this ultimate authority, in Matthew's eyes, is the Byzantine emperor is highly significant for his conception of Byzantium.

Matthew's narrative returns to Constantinople, and to a correct chronology, upon the death of Constantine Doukas and the accession of Romanos IV Diogenes. Given the generally good relations between Diogenes and the Armenian troops in the Byzantine army,<sup>66</sup> the Armenian historians are not as sympathetic to the emperor as might be expected. Matthew begins his account of the reign with a story of the court intrigues that led to Diogenes' recognition, thus underscoring the Byzantine 'habit' of deception and destruction of its own nobility. He repeats and elaborates the claims of Aristakēs<sup>67</sup> that Romanos was swayed by the denunciations of unnamed Greeks, snubbed the Arcruni brothers Atom and Abusahl when he passed through Sebasteia, and made renewed threats against the Armenian church. It is this, Matthew said, that led to his downfall—'when the monks heard [these threats], they called down mournful curses on his expedition—that he not return on the same road by which he left, but that the Lord destroy him like the impious Julian, who was cursed by St. Basil.'<sup>68</sup> These claims sit oddly with the facts of Diogenes' reign as they have emerged: the Byzantine army recruited heavily among Armenians during this time; the Armenian soldiers were generally (though grudgingly) praised for

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<sup>66</sup>Dédéyan, *Les Arméniens entre Grecs, Musulmans et Croisés*, 24–8.

<sup>67</sup>Aristakēs, *Patmut' iwn*, 139.

<sup>68</sup>Matthew of Edessa, *Žamanakagrut' iwn* (1898), 199.

their bravery and loyalty at the battle of Manzikert; the Armenian nobility of southern Anatolia were heavily involved in the attempt to restore the deposed emperor to his throne.<sup>69</sup> Dédéyan himself suggests a deep animosity between the Pahlawuni family (in particular its head at this time, the *katholikos* Grigor II Vkasēs) and the rising magnate Philaretos Brachamios, who had very good relations with Diogenes and with the future Byzantine soldier-emperor Nikephoros Botaneiates; it therefore seems likely that Matthew, whose account is itself partial to the Pahlawunis and violently opposed to Philaretos, may also have taken a dim view of the imperial figures with whom Philaretos was friendly. Given his negative view of Diogenes, his claim that the emperor had maltreated the Armenian nobility of Sebasteia and intended to wipe out the independence of the Armenian church can be seen as a further elaboration of Matthew's theme in this part of the chronicle.

After the battle of Manzikert and the downfall of Diogenes, the Byzantine emperors largely disappear as active players in the Chronicle, and the chronology of the imperial succession begins to falter again. Michael VII Doukas, Diogenes' successor, is described only in the entry for the end of his reign; he was 'a good and God-loving man, adorned with every virtue and radiant holiness and in every way he resembled the saintly kings of old and was resplendent in the Orthodox faith.'<sup>70</sup> Matthew makes no mention of his relations with his Armenian subjects, and the description of Michael as 'orthodox' strongly suggests that he instigated no religious arguments. One

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<sup>69</sup>A very good reconstruction of events concerning Diogenes' attempt to regain his throne is given by Dédéyan, who has used evidence from written histories and sigillographic catalogues to reconstruct the identities and movements of the Armenian magnates in Syria during this time. See Dédéyan, *Les Arméniens entre Grecs, Musulmans et Croisés*, 40–6.

<sup>70</sup>Matthew of Edessa, *Žamanakagrut 'iwn* (1898), 211–2.

therefore suspect that Michael had very little direct influence over events in the territories where Armenians lived, and that Matthew's praise for him is tied to Philaretos' refusal to acknowledge him.<sup>71</sup> He claims that Michael reigned for four years from the downfall of Diogenes in 1071, and that Nikephoros Botaneiates claimed the throne in 525 (1076/7). Botaneiates, we are told, reigned for only one year, and had no intention of reigning any longer. He was succeeded by a man named Melissenos, who reigned for four months before being deposed by Alexios Komnenos.<sup>72</sup> This suggests an accession date of 526 or 527 (1077–9) for Alexios. In fact, it is three or four years too early. Michael was deposed by Botaneiates in 1078, after a reign of nearly seven years; Botaneiates was in turn deposed in 1081 by the simultaneous revolts of the Komnenos brothers (Alexios and Isaac) and Nikephoros Melissenos. The latter had led a revolt which the Komnenoi refused to help put down;<sup>73</sup> Botaneiates attempted to abdicate in favour of Melissenos, but his attempt to bring Melissenos to the city was stopped by an agent of Alexios, and Alexios gained the throne instead.<sup>74</sup> None of these emperors are reported to have had any interactions with the Armenians or with the people of Edessa. The religious controversies and reports of accusations levelled against Armenian princes, including the Arcrunis of Sebasteia, disappear. The implication is that the government in Constantinople had lost effective control over the lands that were inhabited by the Armenians. This implication is bolstered by Matthew's statement, the year after the battle of Manzikert, that 'in this period the impious and most evil prince Philaretos rose

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<sup>71</sup>Dédéyan, *Les Arméniens entre Grecs, Musulmans et Croisés*, 47–9.

<sup>72</sup>Matthew of Edessa, *Žamanakagrut' iwn* (1898), 215, 216–7.

<sup>73</sup>Bryennios, Nikephoros, *Histoire*, ed. P. Gautier (Brussels: Byzantion, 1975), 301.

<sup>74</sup>Komnenē, *Alexias*, 83.



to tyranny'.<sup>75</sup> Philaretos has replaced the Byzantine emperors as the ruler of these lands, and Matthew no longer suggests that the empire has responsibility for the safety of the Christians in the East.

The Chronicle returns to Constantinople only once between the accession of Alexios Komnenos and the arrival of the First Crusade. Matthew describes Alexios' war with the Pechenegs, dating the final Byzantine victory to 538 (1089/90). He then describes a heretic that appeared in Constantinople and attracted a wide following, including Alexios' own mother. The heretic in question is Basil the Bogomil, whose trial and execution are prominently featured near the end of the *Alexiad*.<sup>76</sup> The inclusion of this incident, known to Matthew despite Byzantium's apparent lack of relevance to his people at that time, lends support to the observation that Alexios was a zealous enforcer of Chalcedonian orthodoxy, as does Matthew's obituary of Alexios in which he describes the emperor as 'a good and wise man and strong in warfare and very merciful to the faithful in Christ', but also levels the accusation that 'he did a deed which was not according to the will of God; he ordered second baptism and, disallowing Nicaean baptism, confirmed the Chalcedonian order'.<sup>77</sup> This focus of his must, to some extent, have impaired any attempt to win the sympathy of the Armenians against the Latins in the wake of the First Crusade;<sup>78</sup> that in turn was very relevant for the time during which Matthew was writing Book Three, when the

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<sup>75</sup>Matthew of Edessa, *Žamanakagrut iwn* (1898), 206.

<sup>76</sup>Komnenē, *Alexias*, 485–93.

<sup>77</sup>Matthew of Edessa, *Žamanakagrut iwn* (1898), 345.

<sup>78</sup>I. Augé, *Byzantins, arméniens & francs au temps de la croisade: politique religieuse et reconquête en Orient sous la dynastie des Comnènes, 1081–1185* (Paris: Geuthner, 2007), 323.

Armenian and Latin churches had begun to pave the way to the rapprochement of the Jerusalem synod of 1140.<sup>79</sup>

In 1097, the Crusaders began to reach Constantinople. 'When the emperor Alexios heard of their approach, he sent an army against them in battle', writes Matthew. 'All the lands through which they passed came against them in battle and vexed them with many torments.'<sup>80</sup> Matthew's account of the Crusaders' arrival at Constantinople comes, it seems, primarily from the Latin participants. He suggests that the emperor relented of his own will, however: 'And when the king Alexios heard of all this, he put away the sword and did not battle against them anymore.'<sup>81</sup> When relations between Byzantium and the Crusaders soured after the siege of Antioch,<sup>82</sup> Matthew's ambivalence toward the Crusaders allows him to express a certain amount of acknowledgement of the Byzantine viewpoint; Alexios, he says, 'was resentful against [the Crusaders] because of the disavowal of their earlier oath [to return former Byzantine territories to the empire], which they made but did not keep.'<sup>83</sup> At the same time, he passes on the rumors of sabotage that were rampant among the Crusaders, particularly during the Crusade of 1101: 'But he [Alexios] did the deed of Judas against [Raymond of St. Gilles and his troops]—he ordered that

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<sup>79</sup>For more on the relationship between the Armenian and Latin churches during the period in which Matthew wrote, see below, p. 215.

<sup>80</sup>Matthew of Edessa, *Žamanakagrut iwn* (1898), 254–5.

<sup>81</sup>*Ibid.*, 255.

<sup>82</sup>For the significance of Antioch to subsequent relations between Byzantines and Latins throughout the reigns of Alexios, John, and Manuel Komnenos, see P. Magdalino, *The Empire of Manuel I Komnenos, 1143–1180* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 30–2, 36–41, 66–75; see also J. Shepard, 'Father' or 'Scorpion'? Style and Substance in Alexios' Diplomacy', chap. 5, in *Alexios I Komnenos: Papers of the Second Belfast Byzantine International Colloquium, 14–16 April 1989*, ed. M. Mullett and D. Smythe (Belfast: Belfast Byzantine Enterprises, 1996), 68–132 at 113–30 for the consequences that Alexios' inaction at Antioch had in the context of his previous diplomatic efforts.

<sup>83</sup>Matthew of Edessa, *Žamanakagrut iwn* (1898), 284.

all the land before them, through which the Frankish army passed, be burned, and that they be guided through uninhabitable places, and he withheld bread from them and caused them to go hungry, so that out of desperation they ate their horses. And he sent (to) the Turkish army and caused a huge multitude to come against them. [...] And king Alexios ordered that lime be mixed into the bread and given to them to eat, and that was a tremendous sin before God.’<sup>84</sup>

Matthew has nothing more to say about Alexios, or about Constantinople, until the emperor’s death; this seems surprising, given the emperor’s role in summoning the First Crusade, and in engaging with the Crusader princes who rose to power in the area. Alexios was very concerned with the situation in Asia Minor and the incursion of the Turks; it was his messages to Western leaders throughout the 1090s that very likely resulted in the First Crusade,<sup>85</sup> and it was he who pressed the Crusaders to agree that all conquests in former Byzantine territory should be turned over to him.<sup>86</sup> Matthew’s portrait of the emperor seems to be informed almost entirely by the Latin view of him, and incorporates many of the Latin accusations of betrayal. This suggests very little communication between Armenians and Byzantines during this time period; there seems to have been no real vector of information flow from Byzantium to Matthew’s community in Edessa. The mis-dated death of Alexios and the accession of John Komnenos make up the final entry that concerns Byzantium, or the actions of the Byzantine emperors, within the text. This chronological

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<sup>84</sup>Matthew of Edessa, *Žamanakagrut iwn* (1898), 282–3, 284.

<sup>85</sup>J. Shepard, ‘Cross-purposes: Alexius Comnenus and the First Crusade’, chap. 6, in *The First Crusade: Origins and Impact*, ed. J. Phillips (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997), 107–29 at 118.

<sup>86</sup>For an analysis of Alexios’ preference for foreign soldiers, and of the tactics he used to retain the loyalty of the Latin soldiers in particular, see Shepard, ‘Father’ or ‘Scorpion?’, 113–22.

mistake is a particularly telling one. Matthew claims in the prologue to Book Three that he began the work on his Chronicle during Alexios' reign; if he was collating sources and making records of the dates of events even then, how could he have mis-recorded the date of an event that occurred in the middle of his research? It suggests either that he was not making his own notes about current events as they happened over the years during which he wrote, or that news from Constantinople was no longer reaching Edessa in a timely fashion.

## Conclusions

Matthew's portrayal of the history of Byzantium within the Chronicle is consistent with his overall aims. His object is to explain how the Armenians of his era came to be in the situation they were in; in so doing, he gives his interpretation of the history of Byzantium insofar as it is relevant to the Armenians. Although the history of relations between the Byzantines and the Armenians do not directly have a place in the prophecies of Kozern, Matthew uses that history to help frame the context of that prophetic course of Armenian history.

According to this interpretation, during the late tenth century, and during the apogee of independent Armenia, the Byzantine warrior-emperors Nikephoros Phokas, John Tzimiskes, and especially Basil II conquered the formerly-Christian territory that had been occupied by the Muslims; they took the Syrian and Armenian Christians under their explicit protection in the process. Near the end of Basil's reign, the Armenian princes, most notably Senek'erim Arcruni, began to abdicate their responsibilities to keep their kingdoms safe. Basil willingly took this responsibility off their hands. He converted himself into a

father of the Armenian people, and assumed responsibility for the security and well-being of Armenia. When Basil died, he took special care to hand on this responsibility to his brother and successor.

The emperors that followed Basil did not live up to his standard. They were weak, and short-sighted, and bigoted against Armenians. They, and particularly Constantine Monomachos, wilfully destroyed Armenian independence, due solely to their desire to wipe out the Armenian faith and to co-opt Armenian wealth. Their weakness left them unable to defend the land against the invading Turks; their lack of interest in Armenian welfare meant that they preferred to engage in disputes about theology while their eastern Christian subjects suffered. Nevertheless, the emperors during this period were the arbiters of justice for Armenians as well as Greeks; Michael IV, Theodora, and even Constantine Doukas could be persuaded of the justice of Armenian claims.

With the military defeat of Romanos Diogenes at the battle of Manzikert came a pronounced loss of Byzantine control over the lands inhabited by Armenians, both in the Caucasus and farther to the west, in Syria and Cappadocia. It was after the battle of Manzikert that the Byzantine Armenian general Philaretos began to assert his own control over the Armenian-inhabited parts of Asia Minor. The emperor that followed Diogenes, Michael VII Doukas, is a benign but distant figure within the Chronicle who took no action that concerned the Armenians. His deposition, and the short reign of his successor Nikephoros Botaneiates, was recorded by Matthew, but Botaneiates likewise took no action within Armenia. Matthew's near-complete silence on the reign of Alexios

Komnenos and his son John compound the impression that the Byzantine Empire had ceased to be relevant to the Armenians after 1071.

Matthew's portrayal of the role of the Byzantines in the history of his people is not always based upon factual accuracy; as such, the Chronicle must be treated with utmost caution as a source for events before the end of the reign of Basil II. He correctly reports, for example, that there was a battle for Samosata in 407 (958/9), but he believes that 'parakoimomenos' was the name of the general (it was in fact a title for Basil Lekapenos, who accompanied Tzimiskes on that campaign),<sup>87</sup> and he has confused attacker and defender. His history has a markedly mythological character for this period, which reflects the larger-than-life stature he accords to the victorious warrior-emperors at the beginning of his Chronicle. His description of the palace *coup d'état* of John Tzimiskes is long and colourful, with many unique details. His description of the reign of Basil largely marks the events that are commonly recorded by every historian of the period, but he adds fantastical material that portrays the emperor as unfailingly sympathetic to the Armenians, even in the face of Greek opposition to Armenian views. Basil was the emperor who 'cared for [the Armenians] with fatherly love.'<sup>88</sup>

Matthew's treatment of Byzantine history becomes more chronologically and factually reliable after the death of Basil's brother Constantine VIII, although it retains some deficiencies. The information he gives about events

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<sup>87</sup>Yahya, 'Histoire 1', 771–5.

<sup>88</sup>The image of Basil as a careful steward of the lands he conquered, if not a father to the Armenians, is already present in contemporaneous imagery. See in particular the colophon in Narekac'i, Grigor, *Matean olbergut'ean*, ed. G. Trapizoni and J. R. Russell (Delmar, N.Y: Caravan Books, 1981), 267; see also J.-P. Mahé, 'Basil II et Byzance vue par Grigor Narekac'i', *Travaux et mémoires* 11 (1991): 555–73.

within the empire becomes less fantastical, although he retains the viewpoint of an Armenian partisan. In the period up to 1071, Matthew continues to record items of Byzantine history even when it does not directly affect the Armenians of southern Anatolia; he gives, for example, an account of the short reign of Michael V that is similar to that of the Greek and other historians. This suggests that events in Constantinople were still sufficiently relevant to the Armenian community of southern Anatolia to be part of the record transmitted to Matthew in the 1120s and 1130s. His relative accuracy begins to falter again after 1071, as Byzantium's relevance to the Armenians began once more to fade.

## Chapter 7

# Muslim, Turk, and Crusader: the Armenian chronicler and the *aylazgik*‘

If the first half of the Chronicle focuses primarily on the Armenians and their relations with Byzantium, the latter half shifts its attention to groups which had less of a shared culture with the Armenians, and were in that sense less dangerous to Armenian identity. The first of these is the Muslims, primarily Saljuq Turks, who wrested control of much of Anatolia from Byzantium in the late eleventh century. Of the various Muslim leaders with whom the Armenians came into contact, the Turks occupy the central role within Kozern's prophecy and within the Chronicle. Matthew's portrayal of them corresponds well to the pre-existing paradigms within Armenian historiography. The second primary group of 'outsiders' is the Latin Crusaders. In many ways, they present the most difficult problems of interpretation. Matthew's attitude to them can only be



understood against the background of Armenian relations with Crusaders and with the Byzantines during the mid-1130s. Matthew's portrayal of these two powers, and the interrelationships between them and the Christian population of Edessa and Syria, is at the core of a proper understanding of the latter half of the Chronicle, and especially of Book Three itself.

## **The role of Muslims within Armenian history**

Although the attitudes that Matthew expresses throughout the Chronicle have often been summarised in terms of his antipathy toward the Byzantine Greeks and their church, we have seen above that his opinion was somewhat more complex—it was based upon a paradigm of Byzantium as the rightful protector of Christian Armenia, and insofar as the Byzantines lived up to this ideal, Matthew considered them praiseworthy. This alleged antipathy toward foreigners extends to the Muslims as well, and there too the portrayal is oversimplified. In the words of A. E. Dostourian:

In analyzing Matthew's basic philosophy, there is a tendency to oversimplify the chronicler's viewpoints. Indeed, some scholars have characterized Matthew as superstitious and credulous, intensely nationalistic, deeply suspicious and hateful of foreigners.<sup>1</sup>

Dostourian himself describes Matthew as 'open-minded' about the Arabs and the Turks, in that he was willing to praise rulers such as Malik-Shah for

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<sup>1</sup>A. E. Dostourian, 'The Chronicle of Matthew of Edessa (Matteos Urhayetsi)', chap. 7, in *Armenian Tigranakert/Diarbekir and Edessa/Urfa*, ed. R. G. Hovannisian (Costa Mesa, CA: Mazda Publishers, 2006), 155–64 at 158.

their benevolent treatment of Christians.<sup>2</sup> Even so, he leaves unanswered the question of whether Matthew's portrayal of the Turks and other Muslims had a coherent guiding principle or was simply contradictory. Let us here take a closer look at this portrayal; we will be able to see that it is the direct expression of a fundamental dichotomy that has existed throughout Armenian historiography.

Nina Garsoïan has pointed out the great discrepancy between the 'reality' of Armenian history—the more or less peaceful co-existence of Persian or Arab overlord and Armenian prince, both before and after the conversion of Armenia to Christianity—and the 'myth' of Christian Armenia, in which the Armenian princes, through their steadfast faith, upheld their distinct ethnic identity and the legacy of the luminaries Trdat the Great and Grigor the Illuminator, who represented the Christian Armenian ideal.<sup>3</sup> The literary tradition is thus filled with accounts of the martyrdom of Armenia's most celebrated sons and daughters. By the time this received tradition began to be set down, the kingdom of Trdat and Grigor was already a thing of the past; Vardan Mamikonean, who would be remembered as the premier martyr of the Armenians, had already died in his celebrated 'last stand' against the attempt by Yazdgerd II to reimpose Zoroastrianism on the Armenians. This division between 'reality' and 'myth' had thus existed in the roots of Armenian historiography, and it was maintained throughout. It can partially be explained by the very closeness of early and medieval Armenian culture to that of the Persians; it was their conversion to Christianity, and the death of their leader Vardan in defence of that conversion, that distinguished them from the Persians and the other subject

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<sup>2</sup>Dostourian, 'Chronicle of Matthew', 163.

<sup>3</sup>Garsoïan, 'Reality and myth'.

nations of the Sasanian empire. The Byzantines were their co-religionists, but Byzantine culture and its centralised structure of government were very different from, and much more damaging to, the traditional Armenian customs. It was much easier for the Armenian princes to preserve the *status quo* under Persian suzerainty than under that of the Byzantines, but this led the Armenian historians to place emphasis on the ‘otherness’ of their religious faith and to highlight their resistance to the faith of their Eastern suzerains, lest they be accused of an impious collaboration with the ‘infidel’ against their Christian brethren in Byzantium.

Over the course of the seventh century, the Persian empire was replaced by the Arab caliphate as the dominant power in the East. Like the Persians, the Arab state was a relatively de-centralised one; the Armenians were able to preserve their traditional power structures under Arab domination almost as easily as they had under the Persians.<sup>4</sup> The proliferation of names of Arabic origin—Hasan, Apuhamza, Apuselm, Apusēt<sup>5</sup>—is a testament to the *de facto* cultural interchange between Armenia and the Arabs. At the same time, the retention of Christianity remained one of the defining characteristics of the Armenian people; their adherence to their faith in the face of increasing pressure to convert to Islam therefore took on even greater importance in the historiographical tradition. Later historians such as Sebēos, Lewond, Yovhannēs Drasxanakertc‘i, and T‘ovma Arcruni were quick to condemn the Arabs as heathen agents of Satan.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>4</sup>For a good overview of the development of the Muslim states from the seventh century through the tenth, see H. Kennedy, *The Prophet and the Age of the Caliphates* (Harlow, UK: Pearson Education Limited, 2004); for Armenia specifically, see p. 109.

<sup>5</sup>Garsoïan, ‘Reality and myth’, 120.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid., 127.

The political reality of cooperation with Persians and Arabs, rather than the Byzantine Greeks, had thus existed from the beginning of the Armenian historiographical tradition, and was an unwritten counterpart to the ever-increasing hostility expressed within that tradition. After two centuries of independent Armenian existence, and the incorporation of that independent polity into the Byzantine empire, Armenian observers of the late eleventh and early twelfth century could see what re-orientation toward the West had cost them. At the same time, the old political reality had been largely dormant since the early tenth century. It is in this confusing environment that Matthew must assign a role to the Turks and other Muslims within the Chronicle, and it is this that gives rise to their 'ambiguous'<sup>7</sup> portrayal.

### **Which Muslims?**

The first symptom of Matthew's confusion is his ethnography, which is not helped by the fragmentation of the Abbasid caliphate during this time and the proliferation of ruling dynasties of various ethnicities who are nevertheless recorded primarily in Arabic sources. In the eighth century, the Abbasid caliphs had overthrown the Umayyads, and shortly thereafter they moved the capital from Damascus to Baghdad. In so doing, they alienated the magnates who were accustomed to wielding power around Damascus, and laid the ground for the eventual expansion of the Fatimid caliphate from North Africa through Egypt and into Syria and Mesopotamia by the end of the tenth century. The power of the Abbasid caliphate began to fragment in the tenth century; this gave rise

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<sup>7</sup>Dostourian, 'Chronicle of Matthew', 162.

to strong families (of which the Hamdanids of Aleppo or the Daylamites of Kurdistan were two of the most relevant to the Armenians of Mesopotamia and the Caucasus) who effectively had free rein within their own principalities. Although these emirates could be considered part of the Abbasid empire, they are often referred to by the name of their ruling clan, e.g. 'Hamdanid' or 'Daylamite'. The scope for confusion was amplified by the fact that all of these Muslim states used Arabic as the language of government and of historical record, even in areas that had not originally been populated by ethnic Arabs. In sum, by the end of the tenth century the 'Muslim' lands were a patchwork of more or less independent emirates, who fought with each other for territory and who might or might not recognise the suzerainty of the Fatimid or Abbasid caliphate. Over the course of the eleventh century, the nomadic Turks moved west from Central Asia through Iran. Some of them came to occupy important positions within the Abbasid court; others, such as Tughril Bey, found themselves engaged in warfare with the Abbasids. The Turks quickly became a semi-independent power in their own right.<sup>8</sup>

In Matthew's text, the various Muslim individuals and polities are usually referred to as 'Tačiks', although more specific words such as 'Daylamite' and 'Arab' occasionally appear.<sup>9</sup> The words 'Parsik' (Persian) and 'T'urk' are used nearly as frequently as 'Tačik', although their uses are not very consistent either. Matthew's first entry, an account of a famine in Edessa and the lands to the

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<sup>8</sup>For the rise of the Seljuk Turks, see Korobeinikov, 'Raiders and Neighbours', 692–701; C. Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey: A General Survey of the Material and Spiritual Culture and History c. 1071–1330* (London: Sidgwick & Jackson, 1968), 19–51.

<sup>9</sup>In his English translation of the text, Dostourian simply translates the word 'Տաճկուկ' as 'Muslims', since Matthew's own use of the word is so widespread and so ethnographically mixed.

south in 401 (952/3), describe those southern lands as ‘the land of the Tačiks’;<sup>10</sup> they were ruled at the time by the Hamdanids, who were clients of the Abbasid caliphate. The entry for 410 (961/2), which describes the Hamdanid capture of Aleppo and Anazarba from the Ikhshīdīd dynasty,<sup>11</sup> describes the Hamdanids there as ‘Arab’ rather than ‘Tačik’, and the Ikhshīdīds as ‘of Egypt’. The Arabs of Crete, descendants of the Andalusian Muslim Abū Ḥafṣ ‘Umar,<sup>12</sup> are themselves referred to as all three of ‘Arab’, ‘Tačik’, and ‘of Egypt’ in the single entry for the Byzantine capture of that island, which Matthew has dated to 408 (959/60).<sup>13</sup> The Turks first appear (as ‘T‘urk‘) in the Chronicle in the entry for 465 (1016/7), in which their initial appearance in Vaspurakan is described. They are also named explicitly in the second prophecy of Kozern as the infidel race who would shortly appear and ravage the land before the appearance of the Latins; however, the role of aggressor after the appearance of the Crusade is once again given to the ‘Persians’. Although one might initially argue that this confusion of ethnographic names early in the Chronicle is an effect of the disparate sources from which the information was drawn, evidence of the same interchangeable use of labels can also be seen in Books Two and Three. A very good example occurs in the entry for 553 (1104/5), which describes one of the campaigns of Joscelin and Baldwin: ‘And when Baldwin and Joscelin encountered the army of the Turks (T‘urk‘in), there arose a frightful and severe battle in the foreign land of the Muslims (Tačkac‘), and then the army of the

<sup>10</sup>Matthew of Edessa, *Žamanakagrut ‘iwn* (1898), 1.

<sup>11</sup>J. Sauvaget, ‘Ḥalab’, in *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition*, ed. P. Bearman et al. (Leiden: Brill, 1997), but see below, p. 174, for Matthew’s date confusion here.

<sup>12</sup>M. Canard and R. Mantran, ‘Ikrīṭish’, in *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition*, ed. P. Bearman et al. (Leiden: Brill, 1997).

<sup>13</sup>See above, p. 138, for Matthew’s chronological misplacement of the capture of Crete.

Persians (Parsic<sup>14</sup>) defeated the army of the Franks...<sup>14</sup> There is, in short, very little discernible pattern to Matthew's use of ethnographic adjectives for the various Muslim emirs and polities.

## Tenth-century Muslims in the Chronicle

From the question of his ethnographic reliability, let us turn to the larger one of his overall reliability. To what extent can Matthew's information about particular emirs and their deeds be trusted? As in the realms of Byzantine and of Armenian history, the answer to this question depends heavily upon the time period about which he writes, and the extent to which the emirs in question were relevant to contemporaneous Armenians.

The scant information that Matthew gives about events concerning Muslims in the tenth century is usually either incorrect or unverifiable. Into the former category must be placed the entry for 410 (961/2), in which he describes a battle between the 'Arabs' and the forces 'of Egypt' for Anazarba and Aleppo. There was a Byzantine offensive against Aleppo in 962, during which Nikephoros Phokas sacked the city,<sup>15</sup> but there is no account in any source, including that of Yahyā, of any intra-Muslim warfare around Aleppo during this period.<sup>16</sup> We may also add his account of the battle of Samosata of 407 (958/9) in which he has transposed Byzantine attacker and Arab defender, and the assertion that the emir Hamdan, or Sayf al-Dawlah, died at the hands of 'Armenian troops'

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<sup>14</sup>Matthew of Edessa, *Žamanakagrut' iwn* (1898), 296.

<sup>15</sup>Skylitzēs, *Synopsis historiōn*, 213.

<sup>16</sup>Dostourian suggests (*Armenia and the Crusades*, 284 note 4/2) that this entry could refer to Sayf ad-Dawlah's capture of the city in 944; although that is a possibility, the fact of Matthew's serious confusion about the sequence of event remains.

in 408 (959/60).<sup>17</sup> The unverifiable items of information include the tale of the capture of the Arcruni prince Derenik by the emir of Her in 424 (975/6),<sup>18</sup> and the reference to an emir known as 'Long-hand' who menaced Edessa in 440 (991/2).<sup>19</sup>

All of these entries give very little indication that Matthew was familiar with the history of the various Muslim states during this period. The vague ethnographic information he gives in some places does correspond with facts as recorded elsewhere—the 'forces of Egypt'<sup>20</sup> who held Crete prior to its capture by the Byzantines in 961 were descended from Andalusian Muslims who had settled in Egypt in the ninth century before being driven out, and they had moreover called upon the Ikhshīdids of Egypt and the Fatimids (who would conquer the Ikhshīdids and make Cairo their capital in 969) for assistance against the Byzantine invasion.<sup>21</sup> Concerning Matthew's misplacement of the battle between 'Arab' and 'Egyptian' for Anazarba and Aleppo, it was plausible to suggest that certain groups of Arabs, backed by the Abbasids, might be engaged in combat with the Fatimid or Ikhshīdid 'Egyptians' during this time.<sup>22</sup> Even here, however, the focus is on the consequence to the Christians. The battle for Anazarba and Aleppo 'caused immeasurable massacre, more of the Christians than of their own people'.<sup>23</sup> The Muslims conscripted soldiers,<sup>24</sup> they

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<sup>17</sup>Matthew of Edessa, *Žamanakagrut 'iwn* (1898), 3. In fact, Sayf al-Dawlah died in 967; see T. Bianquis, 'Sayf al-Dawla, Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Abi 'l-Haydjā' 'Abd Allāh b. Ḥamdān b. Ḥamdūn b. al-Ḥārith Sayf al-Dawla al-Taghlibī.', in *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition*, ed. P. Bearman et al. (Leiden: Brill, 1997).

<sup>18</sup>Matthew of Edessa, *Žamanakagrut 'iwn* (1898), 30–3.

<sup>19</sup>*Ibid.*, 41–2.

<sup>20</sup>*Ibid.*, 3.

<sup>21</sup>Canard and Mantran, 'Ikrīṭīsh'.

<sup>22</sup>Kennedy, *Age of the Caliphates*, ch. 12.

<sup>23</sup>Matthew of Edessa, *Žamanakagrut 'iwn* (1898), 3.

<sup>24</sup>*Ibid.*, 2.



‘intended to commit a great massacre against the Armenians’,<sup>25</sup> they caused ‘devastation and captivity’.<sup>26</sup> Just as Matthew has given his reader a portrait of the tenth century which included virtuous Armenian warriors and victorious Byzantine emperors while neglecting the small details of historical accuracy, he has also portrayed the antagonist necessary to complete the picture—‘infidels’ who not only fought the Christians but also resorted to slaughtering each other on occasion. This portrait follows the broad models of a Biblically-influenced Armenian historiography as exemplified by Matthew’s forebears.

## **The appearance of the Turks**

From the point of view of a historian who wishes to mine it for reliable facts, Matthew’s Chronicle begins to be relevant—in the sense that his information about events becomes much more chronologically accurate and generally verifiable than it previously had been—in the second decade of the eleventh century. This newfound accuracy coincides with the introduction of the Turks.<sup>27</sup> These are the primary ‘Muslims’ in Matthew’s world, and they quickly replace ‘Arabs’ and ‘Egyptians’ as the main adversaries within his text. He records the event with apocalyptic imagery:

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<sup>25</sup>Matthew of Edessa, *Žamanakagrut ‘iwn* (1898), 35.

<sup>26</sup>*Ibid.*, 41.

<sup>27</sup>‘Turk’ refers to a collection of related tribes who migrated into Anatolia from the Central Asian steppes via Iran. The Saljuqs, a branch of the Oghuz confederation of tribes, adopted Islam after coming into contact with the Abbasid caliphate in Khorasan and Iran. For more on their origins and their migration into Anatolia, see Korobeinikov, ‘Raiders and Neighbours’, 692–701.

When the year 465<sup>28</sup> of the Armenian era had been reached, the anger of divine wrath was awakened against all the Christian populace and the worshippers of the holy Cross, for the dragon that breathes death awoke with mortiferous fire, and struck the believers in the Holy Trinity. At this time the prophetic and apostolic foundations trembled, because winged serpents arrived and wished to shine out through all the lands of the faithful in Christ. This was the first appearance of the bloodthirsty beasts. In those days troops gathered among the barbarous race of the infidels, who are called T‘urk‘, and reaching the Armenian land they entered Vaspurakan province and the Christian faithful were mercilessly slaughtered at the point of the sword.<sup>29</sup>

Matthew was born sometime during the latter half of the eleventh century;<sup>30</sup> he probably lived out his life in Edessa. The world with which he was familiar had always included Turkish raiders with links to the Abbasid caliphate. The battles, and relations, between Christian and Turk constituted the major sweep of events as he knew them; the prophecy which soon followed this entry is concerned primarily with the incursions of the Turks. In this sense, it can be argued that Matthew’s own Chronicle begins in earnest with this image of the ‘fatal dragon’. The prophecies of Kozerñ are set shortly afterward, and present the Turks as the primary agent of God’s punishment of the Christian people.

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<sup>28</sup>The majority of the extant manuscripts give the date as 467; however, Seibt has argued based on the Armenian *synaxarion* that 465 is the correct date. See W. Seibt, ‘Die Eingliederung von Vaspurakan in das byzantinische Reich’, *Handes Amsorya* 92 (1978): 49–66.

<sup>29</sup>Matthew of Edessa, *Žamanakagrut ‘iwn* (1898), 46–7.

<sup>30</sup>N. Polarean suggests 1070; see Polarean, *Hay Grotner*, 218.

Much of the remainder of Book One of the Chronicle, and the majority of Book Two, is devoted to a full account of this punishment, although the Turks themselves do not re-appear in the Chronicle until the decade of the 490s. Matthew then begins to describe a succession of Turkish raids on Armenian and other Christian cities. He illustrates through these the words of Kozeṛn: that ‘hereafter there will be invasions by foreigners, the filthy forces of the Turks, the cursed sons of K‘am, upon the Christian nations, and all the earth will be consumed by the edge of the sword; all the Christian nations will pass through sword and captivity’.<sup>31</sup>

The invasions of the Turks were thus a centrepiece of the second prophecy of Kozeṛn; they were likewise a centrepiece of Matthew’s understanding of recent history, and therefore of the Chronicle itself. Although his ethnography is confused, as we have seen above, one of the few discernible patterns therein is that Matthew almost always uses ‘Turk’ as a collective word, and always in the context of a set of warriors attacking Christians.<sup>32</sup> It is unreservedly negative, whereas the words ‘Tachik’ and ‘Persian’ can be used for benevolent Muslims as well. Even the Saljuq sultans Tughrul Bey and Alp Arslan are invariably called ‘Persian’, when Matthew refers to them individually.<sup>33</sup>

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<sup>31</sup>See translation below, p. 297.

<sup>32</sup>e.g. the description of the capture and death of Stephen Lichoudēs (Matthew of Edessa, *Žamanakagrut iwn* (1898), 99–100); the lament following the sack of T‘lxum and Arkni in 511 (ibid., 140–1); the description of the troops under Alp Arslan during his Armenian campaign (ibid., 145).

<sup>33</sup>e.g. Tughrul Bey’s siege of Manzikert (ibid., 118); Alp Arslan’s campaign in Armenia in 513 (ibid., 144)—but see above footnote for collective description of ‘Turks’.

## Reality and myth: the Armenians under Turkish domination

Matthew's insistence on antipathy toward the Turkish newcomers is reminiscent of the opening of the *Alexiad* of Anna Komnenē, in which the reader is introduced to Alexios as a man who, from the beginning of his life, sought to repel the Turks; Anna intended through this device to draw attention away from the willingness of her father to make accommodations with them.<sup>34</sup> If, like Anna, Matthew has presented the relationship between Turk and Christian as more adversarial than it often was, he has a strong precedent in Armenian historiography for doing so.<sup>35</sup>

In general, true to the tenor of the prophecy, the Turks are portrayed with unremittingly negative imagery. Tughrul Bey came 'arising like a black lightning cloud' against Manzikert in 1054, before he turned back 'humiliated'.<sup>36</sup> The emirs who attacked in his name were 'evil men and more bloodthirsty than beasts'.<sup>37</sup> Alp Arslan, his nephew and successor, 'like a cloud puffed up with the fog of iniquity reached Armenia with much massacre'.<sup>38</sup> This is the 'myth' of the Turkish domination of Asia Minor, and it is of a piece with the historiographical traditions as shown by Garsoïan.

Armenian historiography also had a place for 'righteous' Muslims, however, and these are not absent from the Chronicle. A good example is Malik-Shah, son and successor to Alp Arslan, who 'was granted his sovereignty by God; he held power over all the earth and brought peace to all the land of Armenia'.<sup>39</sup> This is

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<sup>34</sup> Frankopan, 'Alexios I Komnenos', 286–90.

<sup>35</sup> As shown by Garsoïan; see above, p. 168.

<sup>36</sup> Matthew of Edessa, *Žamanakagrut 'iwn* (1898), 118.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid., 133.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid., 194.

<sup>39</sup> Ibid., 205.

an echo of the theme found in Lewond: so long as a Muslim ruler exercised good stewardship over the lands that God had allowed him to occupy, his continued rule would be permitted by God.<sup>40</sup> It is certainly no accident that the ‘peaceful’ reign of Malik-Shah is set in contrast with the rule of Philaretos, the Armenian villain of Book Two. Where the one ‘brought peace to Armenia’, the other ‘brought with him abominable desolation.’ This deliberate contrast is a good indication of the ‘reality’ of accommodation of Muslim rulers that is often hidden in Armenian sources.

The other primary clue to the ‘reality’ of cohabitation with the Turkish newcomers is less apparent to the reader: this is the nature of reports that Matthew gives about events in Baghdad, Damascus, and other areas deep within the Muslim sphere. We have already seen that, for events in the tenth and early eleventh centuries, Matthew’s information about the Muslims world is vague and error-ridden. This corresponds to the political reality of the Armenians at the time—the independent kingdoms were in the process of re-orienting toward Byzantium, and the Byzantine Empire itself was in an expansionist phase. As the eleventh century progresses, items set well within the Muslim sphere of influence begin to appear within the Chronicle—the strange omen of red snow at Maiyafariqqin<sup>41</sup>, the details of the demise of Alp Arslan at the hand of a Kurd.<sup>42</sup> Together with the descriptions of the Turkish campaigns of this period, many of Matthew’s entries of this era—including records of natural phenomena such as comets and years of famine—correspond to information found in the

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<sup>40</sup>Mahé, ‘Entre Moïse et Mahomet’, 136–7.

<sup>41</sup>Matthew of Edessa, *Žamanakagrut iwn* (1898), 131–2.

<sup>42</sup>Ibid., 203–5.

history of Ibn al-Athīr, who is the primary Arabic-language source available for these years.<sup>43</sup>

Although the increasing focus on the Muslim world does imply a familiarity that was absent in the years before the fall of independent Armenia, it does not suggest that the Armenians, or even the Edessenes, had re-oriented toward the Muslims so quickly. Matthew says of Malik-Shah that 'his rule extended to all lands', but his coverage of the Turks fades entirely at this point while he dwells on the many sins of Philaretos. It is only near the end of Philaretos' reign, on the eve of his loss of Antioch in 533 (1084/5), that they re-appear in the text in force.

From the demise of Philaretos up to the arrival of the Crusades, the Chronicle focuses almost entirely on the local history of the areas around Edessa; the wealth of information about relations between Muslim emirs is reminiscent of the strong presence of Byzantine affairs in events prior to 1071. Not all of the facts that Matthew presents can be corroborated, and a few appear to be contradicted, by Ibn al-Athir—the emir 'Khusraw' who attacked Harran in 532 (1083/4), for example, is unattested by the latter, whose account suggests rather that the aggressor was Tutush (the son of Alp Arslan and brother of Malik-Shah). Where the basic facts for a given event do coincide in the two accounts, the presentations and points of view can be rather different. For example, Ibn al-Athir describes the battle in 1084/5 between Sulayman of Antioch and Sharaf ad-Dawlah of Aleppo as the consequence of a dispute over tribute that had

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<sup>43</sup>For more on Ibn al-Athīr, see D. S. Richards, 'Ibn al-Athīr and the Later Parts of the Kāmil: A Study of Aims and Methods', in *Medieval Historical Writing in the Christian and Islamic Worlds*, ed. D. O. Morgan (London: School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, 1982), 76–108, as well as Richards' prefaces to the English translations of the Kāmil.

previously been paid by Philaretos;<sup>44</sup> Matthew, who calls Sharaf ad-Dawlah 'a kind man and one benevolent toward the faithful in Christ', comes close to suggesting that he was fighting on behalf of the dispossessed Christians.

Another intriguing discrepancy comes with the accession of Barkyaruq, the son of Malik-Shah, after his death in 1092—according to Matthew, Barkyaruq's maternal uncle Ismail 'was made regent over all Persia', through which office he 'ruled over all Armenia as its sovereign; it was he who began to make all Armenia prosper once again and to protect all the monasteries from harassment by the Persians.'<sup>45</sup> He was killed in 1094 by Buzan and Aqsunqur, the respective emirs of Edessa and Aleppo, and 'when the sultan heard about the death of the great Ismail, he severely regretted it.'<sup>46</sup> Ibn al-Athir gives rather a different story: Ismail, emir of Azerbaijan, was summoned by Turkan Khatun, the mother of Barkyaruq's half-brother, in order to help overthrow the sultan and put her son in his place. Ismail acquiesced in the plot, but left shortly thereafter due to mistrust of certain of Turkan Khatun's emirs. He went to join his sister Zubayda, the mother of Barkyaruq, but was killed by Buzan and Aqsunqur after confessing to them that he wished to overthrow Barkyaruq and take the sultanate for himself.<sup>47</sup>

This episode is telling. Matthew has given a skeleton of events that corresponds to the account of Ibn al-Athir—the maternal uncle Ismail who held power in Caucasian lands, and who was killed by Buzan and Aqsunqur amid intrigues. The interpretation, however, is very different. Matthew portrays

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<sup>44</sup>Ibn al-Athir, *al-Kamil* 1029–97, 218–20.

<sup>45</sup>Matthew of Edessa, *Žamanakagrut iwn* (1898), 246.

<sup>46</sup>Ibid., 247.

<sup>47</sup>Ibn al-Athir, *al-Kamil* 1029–97, 267–8.

the trusted deputy of Barkyaruq, who was ‘in all ways mild and merciful and good and mindful and philanthropic and peaceful and a builder of all the Armenian land’;<sup>48</sup> Ibn al-Athir makes no mention of Ismail’s activities in Azerbaijan, but portrays the duplicitous uncle who attempted to play off the opposing family factions in order to take power for himself. It is through discrepancies such as these that the reader may see hints of a *modus vivendi* that was developing between the Armenians and the Saljuqs prior to the arrival of the Crusades. As we will see, the Crusade itself did not entirely destroy this spirit of accommodation; however, the role that the Muslims had played—the power under which Armenians could find a safe haven from the cultural and theological aggression of the Byzantine empire—was usurped to a large extent by the Latin Christians.

## Matthew and the First Crusade

The arrival of the First Crusade posed a very real historiographical problem for Matthew. The event—a large and largely unexpected army of foreign Christians, come to liberate the Christian lands from the Muslim menace—was the stuff of prophetic legend, but had no real precedent in his historiographical models. As his readers are reminded in the prologue to Book Three, he was not a *vardapet*, sufficiently erudite to formulate and present a full philosophical and theological explanation of the Crusade. This problem was compounded by the fact that Matthew was writing nearly forty years after the event. This was long after any immediate apocalyptic interpretation could be drawn; the alliances

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<sup>48</sup>Matthew of Edessa, *Žamanakagrut’iwn* (1898), 246.



and enmities between Frank, Byzantine, Armenian, Arab, and Turk had had time to become sufficiently complex to preclude easy explanation. Forty years had not, however, proven to be enough time for a more qualified Armenian historian to have proffered the interpretation of events that Matthew needed. How was he then to proceed? How trustworthy, from the point of view of a modern historian, was his result?

The idea of a Crusade, to 'liberate' the Holy Land from its Muslim masters, was first preached by Pope Urban in 1095; the initial inspiration for an armed force of western Christians to aid Byzantium against the Turks likely came from the Byzantine emperor Alexios I, but the result of Urban's call to arms far exceeded Byzantine expectations.<sup>49</sup> This over-abundance of soldiers, and the resulting unexpected demand on imperial resources, was one of the roots of a persistent friction that developed between the Byzantines and the Latins and undermined the unified front of Christendom that the Crusade was meant to represent.

The Crusaders first reached Cilicia and Syria in 1097. Their immediate objective once there was the capture of Antioch, where a siege was laid in October. Two of the leading Crusaders, Baldwin of Boulogne and the young Norman nobleman Tancred, left the main army in the autumn of 1096 and struck out eastward. Baldwin was accompanied by Bagrat, the brother of the Armenian prince Goł Vasil, whom he had befriended in Nicaea. Shortly after

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<sup>49</sup>The most well-known general history of the Crusades is Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*. A more up-to-date account, though focusing primarily on the Western perspective, is C. Tyerman, *God's War: A New History of the Crusades* (London: Penguin Books, 2007). For histories focusing on the First Crusade and its aftermath, see Riley-Smith, *The First Crusade and the Idea of Crusading* as well as France, *Victory in the East: A Military History of the First Crusade*. For an account from Muslim sources and perspectives, see C. Hillenbrand, *The Crusades: Islamic Perspectives* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1999).

his arrival at Edessa, Baldwin was adopted as the son and heir of T<sup>ʿ</sup>oros, the Armenian *doux* of the city; soon after that, the townspeople (possibly instigated by Baldwin) rose up against T<sup>ʿ</sup>oros and killed him. Edessa thus became the first Crusader-ruled territory, even before the fall of Antioch.<sup>50</sup>

The Crusaders captured Antioch in July 1098, and Bohemond, the son of Alexios' former Norman *bête noire* Robert Guiscard, claimed the city for himself as a principality. The remainder of the Crusading army eventually continued southward, and took Jerusalem in July 1099. The kingdom of Jerusalem was then established, with Godfrey, the brother of Baldwin of Boulogne, as king. Upon Godfrey's death the following year, Baldwin was called from Edessa to succeed him, becoming Baldwin I of Jerusalem. The county of Edessa was given to his cousin and namesake Baldwin du Bourg, who held it until the death of Baldwin I, when he in turn was called to succeed to the throne of Jerusalem as Baldwin II. Edessa then passed into the hands of Joscelin of Courtenay; Matthew was in all likelihood writing the Chronicle a few years after Joscelin's death, thus during the reign of his son Joscelin II. These three—the two Baldwins and Joscelin—appear most frequently in Matthew's accounts of Crusader affairs, along with Bohemond of Antioch and his nephew and successor Tancred.

## **The place of the Crusaders in the prophetic framework of Kozeṛn**

In understanding the place of the Crusader states in the prophetic vision of Yovhannēs Kozeṛn, Matthew had very little to go on. The 'Franks' are

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<sup>50</sup>Matthew of Edessa, *Žamanakagrut 'iwn* (1898), 260–2; Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 195–212; Dédéyan, *Les Arméniens entre Grecs, Musulmans et Croisés*, 1050.

mentioned explicitly only once, after a description of sixty years of Turkish invasions:

And then the nation of valiant ones will come, known as Franks, and with a multitude of troops they will take the holy city Jerusalem, and the holy tomb that held God is freed from captivity.<sup>51</sup>

That this had come about was clear enough, but by the 1130s it was also clear that this had not led directly to the salvation that was hoped for. The prophecy turns sharply away from the subject of the Crusade, with a somewhat jarring return to the description of the ravages that had come before:

And after this the earth will be ravaged for 50 years by the forces of the Persians through sword and captivity, and [it will be] seven times more than what the faithful have already suffered, and all the nations of the faithful in Christ will be terrified; and the forces of the Romans will be in despair over the multitude of tribulations, and they [will] suffer much death and massacre at the hands of the Persian race; these [will] slaughter the most elite of the brave soldiers with sword and captivity, until the Roman forces despair of salvation. And after some years they [will] begin to strengthen little by little wherever there are remnants of the former forces, and year after year they [will] advance and settle as existing lieutenants in the lands and districts. Then as if waking from sleep the king of the Romans will arise and come like an eagle against the Persian forces...

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<sup>51</sup>See translation below, p. 298.

The capture of Jerusalem was too momentous to be passed over in silence by any prophecy on which a history was to be based. At the same time, although it had been a stirring victory for Christendom, there had been enough successful counter-attacks by the various Muslim emirs to prevent the wholesale expulsion that the Crusaders, and the proponents of the prophecy of the Last World Emperor, had hoped for. The resulting prophecy of Kozern thus includes a reference to the Crusaders, but does not assign them a specific role in the final victory over the 'Persians'. Matthew himself makes reference to a certain Mark the Hermit, who died in 1105; he writes that 'he prophesied about the Franks, when they took the holy city of Jerusalem, that the Persian nation would again strengthen itself and would come with the sword up to the coast of the great sea, which indeed we have seen.'<sup>52</sup> Mark was evidently not one who believed that the Christians had yet been sufficiently punished for their sins; according to Matthew, he went on to say that 'belief in God would decline and the doors of the churches would be closed. People would become blind to good works and would forget the precepts of the Holy Gospel of Christ. Sin and evil would inundate the earth, and the sons of man would wallow in it as one immersed in the sea. Finally all the nations of the faithful would forget the practice of righteous behaviour.' This language is strongly reminiscent of the first Kozern prophecy, without the promises of punishment and salvation that appear in the second. It suggests a feeling of despair that, five or six years after the capture of Jerusalem, no real salvation had yet come to the eastern Christians.

To reinforce his point that the Franks did not long enjoy the grace of God, Matthew records several astronomical omens in the last few pages of Book Two.

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<sup>52</sup>Matthew of Edessa, *Žamanakagrut iwn* (1898), 301.

They all indicated future bloodshed, he reports, and concerning the third one he asserts that ‘since the day the Frankish nation went forth, not one good or favourable omen appeared; on the contrary, all the omens pointed to the calamity, destruction, ruin, and disruption of the land through death, slaughter, famine, and other catastrophes.’ This reiterates the prophecy of Kozeṛn: the Crusaders would take Jerusalem, but fifty years of suffering were sure to follow.

The Crusaders themselves thus had very little intrinsic role in the remainder of Kozeṛn’s prophecy—the fifty years of further suffering at the hands of the Persians, followed by the coming of the victorious Roman Emperor. Although some have suggested that the “Roman” emperor could as easily be a reference to a future Latin leader<sup>53</sup> as to a future Byzantine one,<sup>54</sup> it is clear that, within a decade after the arrival of the First Crusade, the Armenians no longer universally welcomed the Latins as their ‘liberators’. Matthew’s own portrayal of the Latin leaders throughout Book Three shows his attitude toward them very clearly—they were uniformly brave, and could make benevolent rulers, but often lacked the judgement necessary to win battles and could easily revert to malevolence and greed.

Matthew captures the initial Armenian enthusiasm for the Crusaders very well in the relevant entries. When Baldwin of Boulogne first arrived in Edessa, ‘the populace of the city came to meet him and took him into the city with great joy, and there was joy among all the faithful; and the *curopalates* T‘oros showed the count friendship and generosity and confirmed an alliance with him.’<sup>55</sup> Upon the capture of Antioch and the defeat of Kerbogha’s counter-

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<sup>53</sup>Garsoïan, ‘Reality and myth’, 139–40.

<sup>54</sup>Dostourian, *Armenia and the Crusades*, 300 n. 64/6.

<sup>55</sup>Matthew of Edessa, *Žamanakagrut ‘iwn* (1898), 260.

attacking army, 'the Frankish army returned to the city of Antioch with great joy; and that day was a day of great joy for the Christian faithful.'<sup>56</sup> Shortly thereafter, Matthew describes the successful Latin defense against the Muslims who counter-attacked after their own defeat in Jerusalem: 'And it was not they [the Franks] who fought, but it was God who fought in their stead against the Egyptians, like He had done for the sons of Israel against the Pharaoh along the Red Sea.'<sup>57</sup>

Yet the Latins, like the Arabs of Lewond,<sup>58</sup> only enjoyed God's favour as long as they did not sin against him, and the infractions quickly began to accumulate. On the victory of Dānishmand against the Latins in 1100, Matthew adds that 'things such as this happened to the Frankish army because of their sinful deeds, for they left the straight path to God and began to follow the path of sin, which God had not bid them to do.'<sup>59</sup> The 'sinful deeds' in question are elaborated throughout Book Three. The Latins had earned the enmity of Alexios 'because of the oath which they had previously made to him, but had not carried out'; they frequently allowed their pride to bring them to battle unprepared, and suffered the consequent defeat;<sup>60</sup> they engaged in battle against each other, occasionally relying upon the support of Muslim emirs to do so.<sup>61</sup> In his entry for the year 566 (1117/8), Matthew removes all doubt as to his judgment of the Latins, and

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<sup>56</sup>Matthew of Edessa, *Žamanakagrut 'iwn* (1898), 266.

<sup>57</sup>Ibid., 268.

<sup>58</sup>See above, p. 80.

<sup>59</sup>Matthew of Edessa, *Žamanakagrut 'iwn* (1898), 274.

<sup>60</sup>e.g. the siege of Tiberias in 562 (ibid., 327–8) or the defeat of Roger of Antioch in 568 (ibid., 343–5).

<sup>61</sup>e.g. the enlistment of Maudūd by Baldwin and Joscelin against Tancred in 559 (ibid., 312).

particularly Baldwin du Bourg, in describing Baldwin's attack on Aplharip of al-Bira:<sup>62</sup>

And so little by little he [Baldwin] systematically toppled all the Armenian princes, in this way, more than the Persian race, he persecuted the Armenian princes who had been left by the furious race of the Turks. He proscribed them all with great oppression, he toppled the entire principality of Goł Vasil, he put to flight all the ranks of nobility<sup>63</sup>, who [went] to Constantinople. [...] many other handsome princes were killed in prison and by tortures and in chains; and there were many whose eyes had been put out, hands cut off and noses slit, they castrated them and, having raised them up on wood, killed the young blameless ones in order to have their parents punished. And such innumerable and unspeakable deeds [were done], they reduced the land to ruin and destruction with unjust torments, always in order to take treasure unjustly; and all the time they were occupied and did nothing else, but only sat pondering maliciousness, they loved deceit and all the ways of evil, unmindful of goodness and any kindness. I wished to write about their great injustice, but we do not dare, for we are under their sovereignty.<sup>64</sup>

Concerning Joscelin, who was the specific ruler under whose authority he probably wrote, Matthew was more circumspect. Joscelin was granted the county of Edessa in 568 (1119/20) upon the accession of Baldwin du Bourg to the

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<sup>62</sup>For a discussion of this siege, see Dédéyan, *Les Arméniens entre Grecs, Musulmans et Croisés*, 1208–10.

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<sup>64</sup>Matthew of Edessa, *Žamanakagrut 'iwn* (1898), 338–9.

throne of Jerusalem; within that entry, Matthew records that Joscelin had been away in Palestine since the winter of 1113/4. With this he neatly exonerates the new count of Edessa from the worst of the Latin excesses, which were recorded during the years of his absence. Matthew adds that 'he turned to the compassion of mercy toward the city of Edessa, abandoning his beastly habits, which he had previously had.'<sup>65</sup> Thus we see that the Latins were not irredeemable, although they were not, in Matthew's opinion, the chosen agents of the coming Christian liberation.

As if to remind his reader of the unsuitability of the Latins, Matthew then recounts a series of episodes for the years 571–3 (1122–5), corroborated more or less exactly by almost all the other sources,<sup>66</sup> in which Joscelin and Galeran (the count of Saruĵ) made an ill-advised attack on the emir Balak of Kharberd, and were taken prisoner.<sup>67</sup> Baldwin II of Jerusalem was captured by the same emir shortly thereafter, and held with Joscelin and Galeran at Kharberd. A Latin initiative to free them by capturing the fortress initially succeeded, but was quickly reversed into a defeat and a re-capture of most of the prisoners, although Joscelin was not re-taken. Balak was killed in battle with Joscelin in March or April 1124;<sup>68</sup> Matthew says of him that 'his [Balak's] destruction brought joy to all the lands of the Franks, but in his own districts a formidable grief and sadness and general loss arose, because he had been merciful to the Armenian nation, who were in his power.'<sup>69</sup> Even at this late stage in the Chronicle, at a time

<sup>65</sup>Matthew of Edessa, *Žamanakagrut 'iwn* (1898), 346.

<sup>66</sup>See below, p. 193.

<sup>67</sup>Matthew of Edessa, *Žamanakagrut 'iwn* (1898), 352.

<sup>68</sup>Ibn al-Athīr, 'Izz al-Dīn, *The Chronicle of Ibn al-Athīr for the Crusading Period: From al-Kāmil fi'l-ta'rikh. Part I (1097–1146)*, ed. D. S Richards (London: Ashgate, 2006), 251.

<sup>69</sup>Matthew of Edessa, *Žamanakagrut 'iwn* (1898), 358.



when he was attempting to portray 'slow strengthening' of Christian leaders, Matthew did not consider the Latin rulers to automatically merit praise, nor the Muslim ones to attract automatic censure.

### **Matthew's factual accuracy in Book Three**

The question of accuracy is, as we have seen, a vexed one throughout the Chronicle. It takes on added urgency for Book Three. This is the book that Matthew has written from his own eyewitness experience. Its Edessene focus makes it unique among the records of the Crusade; even Fulcher of Chartres, who served as chaplain to Baldwin of Boulogne and accompanied him to Edessa,<sup>70</sup> focuses primarily on events in Jerusalem in his own chronicle. The remainder of the eyewitness accounts focus either on Jerusalem (in the case of the Latin historians) or the Byzantine or Muslim (Saljuq and Abbasid) courts.

Matthew is therefore a very important source, both for corroboration of accounts in the other histories and for information about the county of Edessa and the neighbouring regions that was not recorded elsewhere. We have seen that his Chronicle is not necessarily reliable for events of the tenth and eleventh centuries; to what extent may we trust it for events of the twelfth?

This question is more easily answered for the contents of Book Three than for the previous books, in that there are a number of sources from which corroboration may be sought. Historiography of the Muslim and (particularly) Turkish world, which is relatively sparse after the end of the history of Yahya ibn Sa'id, comes into its own again with the chronicles of Ibn al-Qalānisi and Ibn al-

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<sup>70</sup>Fulcher of Chartres, *A History of the Expedition to Jerusalem*, ed. H. S. Fink, trans. F. R. Ryan (New York: W. W. Norton, 1973), 92.

Athīr, who used al-Qalānisī as his primary source for this period.<sup>71</sup> There are a number of Latin chronicles of the Crusades, although (like that of Fulcher) their authors were primarily interested in events at the Latin court of Jerusalem.<sup>72</sup> The chronicle of Michael the Syrian<sup>73</sup> is occasionally a useful counterweight to that of Matthew throughout the Chronicle, particularly for the events of Book Three, although Michael's temporal distance from events before his own lifetime often renders him unreliable. Much the same can be said for Gregory Abu'l-Faraj (Bar Hebraeus), who used Michael's chronicle as his main source for this period.<sup>74</sup> Much of Matthew's information may thus be checked for corroboration; this in turn gives a useful indication of the extent to which we may trust the information that survives nowhere else.

A comparison of particular events between these sources suggest that the version of events Matthew gives is, if occasionally credulous, no less trustworthy than that of the other chronicles. His chronology is, for the most part, much more accurate than for Books One and Two; for some events, such as the ransom of Bohemond from Dānishmand, his date of 552 (1103/4) is the one generally accepted<sup>75</sup> over Ibn al-Athīr's date of 1101/2.<sup>76</sup> Matthew records the death

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<sup>71</sup>For an overview of contemporary Arabic historiography of the Crusades, see F. Gabrieli, 'The Arabic Historiography of the Crusades', chap. 7, in *Historians of the Middle East*, ed. B. Lewis and P. J. M. Holt (London: Oxford University Press, 1962), 98–107; for the link between Ibn al-Athīr and Ibn al-Qalānisī, see the introduction to Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kamil 1097–1146*, 4.

<sup>72</sup>e.g. William of Tyre, *A History of Deeds Done Beyond the Sea*, ed. E. A. Babcock and A. C. Krey (New York: Octagon Books, 1976); *The Deeds of the Franks and the Other Pilgrims to Jerusalem (Gesta Francorum)*, ed. R. M. T. Hill (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1962); Albert of Aachen, *Historia Ierosolimitana (History of the Journey to Jerusalem)*, ed. S. Edgington (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2007).

<sup>73</sup>Michael the Syrian, *Chronique*, ed. J. Chabot (Paris, 1899–1910).

<sup>74</sup>Bar Hebraeus, Gregory Abu'l Faraj, *The chronicle of Gregory Abū 'l Faraj*, ed. E. A. W. Budge (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2003).

<sup>75</sup>I. Mélikoff, 'Dānishmendids', in *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition*, ed. P. Bearman et al. (Leiden: Brill, 1997).

<sup>76</sup>Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kamil 1097–1146*, 60.

of Dānishmand in 553 (1104/5), noting that he was ‘of the Armenian nation’; this is an interesting assertion that is absent from Ibn al-Athir, who appears to have conflated Dānishmand with his son.<sup>77</sup> There are occasional exceptions to Matthew’s chronological accuracy, most notably the mis-dating of the death of Alexios Komnenos; this seems, however, to be a reflection of the extent to which events in Constantinople had ceased to be relevant to the Armenians of Edessa.

For items that can be corroborated, Matthew takes his place in the panoply of historians whose accounts have factual merit and a wealth of detail, and must be compared against each other for as full a picture as possible of the actual sequence of events. One good example is the Latin fiasco at Kharberd in 1123; Dostourian has given a good summary of the variant accounts in his own translation.<sup>78</sup> All the extant sources agree on the outline of events; the variations come in the identities of the various actors. The Syrian sources credit a group of Armenian workmen with the initial capture of the fortress;<sup>79</sup> the Arabic sources claim that the captors were Latins<sup>80</sup>, with Ibn al-Qalānisi crediting the captives themselves.<sup>81</sup> The Latin sources William of Tyre and Fulcher of Chartres also credit a group of fifty Armenians with the deed.<sup>82</sup> It is therefore rather striking

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<sup>77</sup>Ibn al-Athir refers throughout to Gumushtakin Ibn al-Dānishmand, the son of the founder of the dynasty, as ‘the emir of Malatya’. He gives no record of this emir’s death, but makes no mention of him between the years 1102 and 1134 (*al-Kamil* 1097–1146, 309). In 1141, Ibn al-Athir names the emir of Malatya as the son of Ibn al-Dānishmand (*al-Kamil* 1097–1146, 357); the death of this son is recorded in 1142 (*al-Kamil* 1097–1146, 367). This seems to be an error on the part of Ibn al-Athir; Dānishmand himself most likely died in 1104/5, as Matthew records.

<sup>78</sup>Dostourian, *Armenia and the Crusades*, 347–8 n. 90/4.

<sup>79</sup>Michael the Syrian, *Chronique*, vol. 3 p. 211; Hebraeus, *The chronicle of Gregory Abū ‘l Faraj*, 251.

<sup>80</sup>Ibn al-Athir, *al-Kamil* 1097–1146, 246–7.

<sup>81</sup>Ibn al-Qalānisi, *The Damascus Chronicle of the Crusades*, ed. H. A. R. Gibb (London: Luzac, 1967), 169.

<sup>82</sup>Fulcher of Chartres, *A History of the Expedition to Jerusalem*, 246–52; William of Tyre, *A History of Deeds Done Beyond the Sea*, 541–5.

that Matthew does not give the identity of the group who instigated the capture, although his description of their ruse of ‘feigning the appearance of quarrelling plaintiffs’ most closely matches the Syrian account. The episode gives a very good example of the manner in which the details of a well-known deed could alter with successive retellings, and the account that Matthew preserves must be given commensurate weight with that of the others.

The Chronicle nevertheless has its deficiencies as a record of fact. The lack of a clear guiding course of prophecy for these decades seems to have caused Matthew to invent his own moral tales much more frequently than in Books One and Two; to produce these lessons, he will stretch his facts where necessary. In 1102, for example, the Armenian and Syrian churches fell into conflict with the Byzantine Orthodox church concerning the correct date of Easter, just as they had in 1007.<sup>83</sup> Matthew reports that the Latins and the Syrians both bowed to Byzantine pressure and followed the ‘fraudulent’ calendar; the lamps of the Holy Sepulchre were falsely lit on this date, but were lit in an authentic fashion on Armenian Easter.<sup>84</sup> Shortly thereafter, Baldwin I of Jerusalem was wounded in battle with the Fatimids near Jerusalem. Matthew writes that ‘the wound in the king’s body remained incurable until the day of his death; and then Jerusalem was filled with grief and sadness for their king. This happened because of the illegitimate observance of holy Easter.’<sup>85</sup> This description masks the fact that Baldwin did not actually die until 1118 (an event recorded in its correct year); Matthew has stretched the story of Baldwin’s wound in order to manufacture consequences for the ‘incorrect’ celebration of Easter.

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<sup>83</sup>See below, p. 205.

<sup>84</sup>Matthew of Edessa, *Žamanakagrut ‘iwn* (1898), 292.

<sup>85</sup>*Ibid.*, 292–3.

Similarly, his account of the siege of Harran in 1104 is largely in accordance with that of Ibn al-Athīr;<sup>86</sup> Matthew, however, describes an act of desecration of a loaf of bread by one of the Latin soldiers. He attributes their loss to this: ‘When the wise men saw this, they said “That is a greatly sinful deed, and God will not stand for this deed and he will not give them [the Franks] victory, because they have committed this sin in the bread.”’<sup>87</sup> This Latin defeat resulted in the first imprisonment of Baldwin (I of Jerusalem) and Joscelin; it was also the first clear indication to everyone, including the Muslims, the Byzantines, and the Armenians including Matthew, that the Crusaders were not invincible and that God might allow their defeat.<sup>88</sup>

So we see that, although Book Three contains embellishments and some inaccuracies, these are on a small scale and have clear patterns. Matthew, lacking narrative clarity from the relevant part of the prophecy of Kozeṛn, and unsure of the direction from which the predicted salvation of Christendom will come, often seeks a near-term moral lesson from the events about which he writes. The facts around these moral vignettes must be treated with great caution, but apart from Matthew’s belief in a ‘slow strengthening’ of Christians and the imminent advent of the Last World Emperor, there is not an overarching literary or prophetic message to distort events.

In sum, Matthew shows himself to be consistently well-informed about the events of which he writes, where they can be corroborated. His vantage point in Edessa leads him to write about many events which are not well-corroborated

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<sup>86</sup>Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Kamil* 1097–1146, 79–80.

<sup>87</sup>Matthew of Edessa, *Žamanakagrut ʿiwn* (1898), 295.

<sup>88</sup>Asbridge, *Principality of Antioch*, 55–6.

in the other more remote sources,<sup>89</sup> but his command of verifiable facts allows the reader to place trust in the unverifiable ones. The only remaining entries that must be treated with some caution are those in which Matthew is vague about the details, in a manner reminiscent of the more mysterious entries in Books One and Two—for instance, the account of fighting between ‘Arabs’ and ‘Turks’ around Basra in 557 (1108/9) in which Matthew gives almost no prosopographical details.<sup>90</sup> The entry is reminiscent of earlier accounts of intra-Muslim fighting (e.g. the description in Book One of fighting between the ‘Egyptians’ and ‘Romans’ in 440 (991/2), which allegedly led to an invasion of Armenia.<sup>91</sup>) Given the general quality of Book Three, however, these items tends to be quite plausible, and their veracity must be considered more carefully than those of Books One and Two.

It must nevertheless be stressed that Matthew’s factual accuracy for the twelfth century does not render him ‘impartial’. He takes his place in the panoply of authoritative historians for this period, but like every historian, he brings his own cultural context and his own biases to his work. The next chapter shall explore the contemporaneous cultural context in which Matthew wrote, and seek to explain his attitudes to the world around him in terms of the community of Armenian monophysite clerics of which he was a member.

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<sup>89</sup>e.g. the siege of Edessa by Chokurmish after the battle of Harran in 1104, mentioned only briefly by Ibn al-Athīr (Matthew of Edessa, *Žamanakagrut iwn* (1898), 301–2); the otherwise unattested invasion of the territory of Cilicia and Kesun in 556 (1107/8) (ibid., 305–7); and rather crucially, the Latin offensive against Apłlarip of Bira which inspires Matthew’s rancour (ibid., 338–9).

<sup>90</sup>Ibid., 310.

<sup>91</sup>Ibid., 41.

## Conclusion

As references to the Byzantine empire fade from the Chronicle over the course of Book Two, the role of overlord to the Armenians—now protector, now oppressor—was transferred in sequence to the Muslim emirs and the Crusaders who followed them. It was under the dominion of these two groups that Matthew almost certainly lived out his entire life; the views he presents in this portion of the Chronicle are therefore born of personal experience.

In describing the relationship between Muslim and Armenian, Matthew has generally preserved the Armenian historiographical tradition, which tended to place emphasis on the ‘otherness’ of the Armenian Christians and the persecution suffered at the hands of the ‘bloodthirsty infidels’—this despite the ability of Armenian leaders to reach an accommodation with Muslim suzerains that preserved the *status quo* for the Christians as much as possible.

The arrival of the Crusaders complicated the traditional historical patterns available to Matthew almost beyond recognition. Although their capture of Jerusalem was written into the second prophecy of Kozeṛn on which the Chronicle is based, the Crusaders were given no further role in the history that was then to come. One of the challenges faced in his composition of Book Three was therefore to find an appropriate role for this group of foreign Christians who, as far as was apparent to anyone at the time that Matthew wrote, now held a permanent role in the area. It is clear that Matthew did not consider the Crusaders to be the agent of God’s eventual redemption of His people.

This ambivalence has to some extent helped to forestall the creation of a mythology for them within the pages of the Chronicle, and thus renders

Matthew's account a more accurate record of contemporaneous Armenian perceptions of the Crusade, as compared to his accounts of the Byzantines and the Muslim Turks. Matthew's accuracy is not beyond reproach, however. The need to derive a moral lesson from recent history has led him in places to stretch the facts of an event, such as the wound suffered by Baldwin I of Jerusalem shortly after his accession to the throne. These literary flourishes are the means by which Matthew preserves the relevance of the prophecy of Kozeṛn throughout this section of the Chronicle.



## Chapter 8

# **‘Trouble and dissension in the see of St. Gregory’: Matthew and the Armenian church**

Although Matthew denies, in his prologues, a high level of erudition and intelligence<sup>1</sup>, the fact that he was a priest and a monk gave him an important point in common with the *vardapet* historians who had preceded him. Many of these historians, most notably Step‘anos Tarōnec‘i, had devoted a great deal of attention to events within the Church of which they were a part, and Matthew was no exception. Many of the entries within the Chronicle record Armenian ecclesiastical affairs, and the book itself is written from the perspective of one who is deeply ensconced in a monastic fraternity.

Matthew belonged to the non-Chalcedonian Armenian church; his opinions in the Chronicle have generally been described as passionately monophysite,

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<sup>1</sup>See translation, p. 302.

and this bias has generally been thought to inform his opinions of people and events,<sup>2</sup> most notably in the case of Philaretos Brachamios.<sup>3</sup> As we have seen above, however, Matthew's monophysitism is not the only, or even the primary, reason for his exceedingly negative portrayal of Philaretos; other Chalcedonian Armenians (most notably T'oros, the last Armenian ruler of Edessa) are portrayed much more sympathetically. 'Anti-Chalcedonian' is a simplistic description of Matthew's attitude toward ecclesiastical matters, and does not do justice to his portrayal of various people, whether Chalcedonian or non-, throughout the Chronicle.

Within this chapter, I will explore some of the complexities of Matthew's presentation of ecclesiastical affairs, and examine his larger viewpoints in the context of the situation of the Armenian church during the decade of the 1130s. Matthew has massaged the history of the Armenian church where appropriate, as he did with the secular history of Byzantium and Armenia, to conform to the timeline of the second prophecy of Kozeṛn. In addition, his place within the fraternity of Armenian monasticism has allowed him to give his items of ecclesiastical history a personal touch—one which allows the reader to begin to see the outline of Matthew's own life, and to deduce the period during which he was an observer of events, and the time during which he wrote.

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<sup>2</sup>See for example Dulaurier's preface to his translation: Matthew of Edessa, *Chronique*, pp. xviii-xix.

<sup>3</sup>V. A. Arutjunova-Fidanjan, 'The Ethno-Confessional Self-Awareness of Armenian Chalcedonians', *Revue des études arméniennes* 21 (1988-9): 345-63 at 352; Dédéyan, *Les Arméniens entre Grecs, Musulmans et Croisés*, 243.

## Before the fall: ecclesiastical history prior to the prophecies of Kozeṛn

The primary characteristics of Matthew's treatment of church history prior to the prophecies of Kozeṛn in 478 and 485 (1029–37) are twofold. The first is a pattern of chronological inaccuracy that is unlike any other discernible pattern of error within Book One. The second is the curious lack of any hint of dissension within the church at this time; Matthew is apparently ignorant of the debates between supporters and opponents of reconciliation with the church of Constantinople, and passes over in silence the controversial deposition of one 'pro-Chalcedonian' katholikos during this time.

The 'ecclesiastical' items for the tenth century simply record the succession of Armenian katholikoi, generally under erroneous dates. The death of the katholikos Anania and accession of Vahan, dated by Asolik to 414 (965/6),<sup>4</sup> is dated by Matthew to 425 (976/7).<sup>5</sup> Vahan is nevertheless named as katholikos in Matthew's account of the gathering at Hark' in 421 (972/3); he was the author of a letter that was delivered to the emperor Tzimiskes.

It remains unclear how Matthew might have concluded that Anania died in 425 (976/7), but his arithmetic is otherwise consistent with his narrative. Asolik does not give a date for Vahan's deposition, but indicates that he was recognised by some, including king Apousahl-Hamazasp of Vaspurakan, until his death. Orbelian concurs with Matthew in giving the length of Step'anos' tenure as two years.<sup>6</sup> If Matthew knew that Step'anos reigned for two years, but did not

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<sup>4</sup>Asolik, *Histoire universelle*, 40–1.

<sup>5</sup>Matthew of Edessa, *Žamanakagrut 'iwn* (1898), 33.

<sup>6</sup>Orbelian, *Histoire de la Siounie*, 166–7.

realise that his term had run concurrently with Vahan's, then he would add the two years of Step'anos' tenure to the seven years of Vahan's, producing a total of nine years between the death of Anania and the accession of Xaç'ik. He then shortened Xaç'ik's tenure from nineteen years to six, in order to reconcile his date for Xaç'ik's accession, 434 (985/6), with his date for Sargis' accession, 440 (991/2). Despite the arithmetic he employed in order to reconcile the missing or erroneous dates he had before 440 (991/2), Matthew has retained one correct detail—the fact that Vahan was *katholikos* in 421 (972/3).

The remainder of the 'ecclesiastical' theme within Book One displays accurate (if occasionally misleading) chronology, where external corroboration exists. Sargis did die in 471 (1022/3);<sup>7</sup> his successor was Petros Getadarj.<sup>8</sup> He does appear to err in recording Petros' accession in 471 (1022/3), upon the death of Sargis.<sup>9</sup> Aristakēs, in contrast, records Petros' accession in 468 (1019/20).<sup>10</sup> He also notes that Sargis was alive at the time—this was an innovation on the usual practice, in which a new *katholikos* was elected after the death of the current one.<sup>11</sup> Sargis' death has been correctly dated by Matthew to 471. In addition, Matthew writes that Petros was *հաստատեաց* ('confirmed') as *katholikos*;<sup>12</sup> generally, the word he uses for the succession is *ձեռնադրեաց*

<sup>7</sup>As corroborated by Aristakēs, *Patmut' iwn*, 32.

<sup>8</sup>*Ibid.*, 31–2.

<sup>9</sup>Matthew of Edessa, *Žamanakagrut' iwn* (1898), 50–1.

<sup>10</sup>Aristakēs, *Patmut' iwn*, 28.

<sup>11</sup>K. H. Maksoudian, *Chosen of God: The Election of the Catholicos of All Armenians From the Fourth Century to the Present* (New York: St. Vartan Press, 1995), 37–8. Mahé points out that this was accepted as a way of guaranteeing the continuity of the office at times when it could be threatened; see J.-P. Mahé, 'L'Église arménienne de 611 à 1066', chap. 2, in *Évêques, moines, et empereurs (610–1054)*, ed. C. Hannick et al. (Paris: Desclée, 1993), 457–547 at 499.

<sup>12</sup>Matthew of Edessa, *Žamanakagrut' iwn* (1898), 51.

(‘consecrated’).<sup>13</sup> This distinct phrasing suggests that he was working from a source that accurately reflected the consecration of Petros during Sargis’ lifetime. Matthew is guilty here not of chronological inaccuracy, but of lack of clarity.

Another rather confusing pair of entries is the set, for the years 486 and 487 (1037–9), which describe a dispute between Petros and Yovhannēs of Ani. Matthew claims that, at the beginning of the year 486 (which fell in March 1037), Petros left Ani for Vaspurakan. He writes that Petros remained in Vaspurakan for four years before returning to Ani at the invitation of Yovhannēs, where he was imprisoned for a year and five months while a church council was convened to enthrone Dioskoros of Sanahin in his stead.<sup>14</sup> Dioskoros reigned for one year and two months, after which time another council met to depose him and restore Petros to the throne. This second council is the subject of the entry for 487 (1038/9).<sup>15</sup> Although this pair of entries would thus appear to describe the events of five and a half years, it is covered from beginning to end within the entries for two. The imprisonment of Petros probably did occur in 1037, and Dioskoros’ deposition in late 1038.<sup>16</sup> Just as he has done for the reign of the emperor Constantine VIII, Matthew has compressed a long series of events into a short account; as in the earlier example, and as we will see below, he has done this in order to better fit the event to the prophecy, and the subsequent course of events.

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<sup>13</sup>e.g. the accession of Vahan (Matthew of Edessa, *Žamanakagrut ‘iwn* (1898), 33), of Step‘anos (ibid., 34), and that of Sargis himself (ibid., 51).

<sup>14</sup>Ibid., 75–7.

<sup>15</sup>Ibid., 77–8.

<sup>16</sup>Mahé, ‘L’Église arménienne’, 527.

The peculiarities of Matthew's chronology thus show that, in matters ecclesiastical as well as secular, he had very little information about the course of events in tenth-century Armenia. It is only with the accession of Sargis in 990 that chronological accuracy is regained, and only with the appearance of Petros in 1019 that information more substantial than accession and death notices begins to appear. Even given this chronological mis-information and lack of detail for the tenth century, however, the quiet and harmonious picture presented by Matthew is rather surprising.

Most notably, Matthew fails to mention a major ecclesiastical dispute between 414 and 421 (965–73), which was recorded by Asotik and later recorded by Kirakos Ganjak'eci<sup>17</sup> and Step'anos Orbelian.<sup>18</sup> The roots of this dispute lay in the time of Anania, the katholikos who died in 414; he had been at the forefront of an anti-Chalcedonian reaction to the trend, fostered under Gagik I Arcruni of Vaspurakan, toward reconciliation with the Byzantine church. Around the time of the coronation of Ašot III, Anania had been heavily involved in a dispute with the church leadership in Albania and Siwnik' that had its roots both in the Chalcedonian dispute and in an argument about the hierarchy of ecclesiastical sees.<sup>19</sup> Anania was succeeded by Vahan, the archbishop of Siwnik'. Shortly thereafter, Vahan, suspected of wishing 'to bring about friendship and accord with Chalcedonians',<sup>20</sup> was deposed by a church council and replaced by Step'anos. Vahan fled to Vaspurakan, where Gagik Arcruni's successor

<sup>17</sup>Ganjakec'i, Kirakos, *Kirakos Gandzaketsi's History of the Armenians*, trans. R. Bedrosian (New York: Sources of the Armenian Tradition, 1986), 78.

<sup>18</sup>Orbelian, *Histoire de la Siounie*, 166–7.

<sup>19</sup>Mahé, 'L'Église arménienne', 506–10.

<sup>20</sup>'Սա ընդ քաղկեդոնականս սիրելութիւն և հաճութիւն կամեցաւ առնել թղթովք:' (Asotik, *Histoire universelle*, 41).

Apusahl-Hamazasp was sympathetic toward him. After both rival katholikoi died in 421 (972/3), Xač'ik Aršaruni was elected as the new katholikos.

Matthew, in contrast, records the death of the 'holy' katholikos Vahan, and the accession of the 'godly' Step'anos, in 432 (983/4).<sup>21</sup> In his next entry, dated to 434 (985/6), he records the death of Step'anos and the accession of Xač'ik.<sup>22</sup> No other extant source that dates from before Matthew's time omits a discussion of the controversy; why then does Matthew? Is he truly ignorant of the disputes that took place during and after Anania's reign?

I have suggested elsewhere<sup>23</sup> that this omission is evidence that Matthew took his early ecclesiastical history from a source written within Vaspurakan; in light of the overall structure of the Chronicle as an elucidation of the prophecy of Yovhannēs Kozērn, however, the postulation of a 'Vaspurakan source' for ecclesiastical history is not necessary. Just as Matthew has separated the events of the royal succession struggle of 1019–22 into 'earlier' elements that displayed the valour and virtue of the Armenian kings,<sup>24</sup> he has here glossed over the dissension and controversy that plagued the Armenian church at the time. His aim, for the tenth century, was to portray the peaceful and pious state of Armenian church and society. The deposition of Vahan and the persecution of Step'anos had no place in this story.

The first cracks in Christian virtue and harmony may be seen in Matthew's account of the Easter dispute of 1007. This arose from a periodic discrepancy between the Chalcedonian and monophysite methods of calculation of the date

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<sup>21</sup>Matthew of Edessa, *Žamanakagrut 'iwn* (1898), 34.

<sup>22</sup>Ibid., 38–9.

<sup>23</sup>Andrews, 'The Chronology of the Chronicle'.

<sup>24</sup>See discussion above, p. 104

of Easter; the conflict is also recorded in the chronicles of Yahyā ibn Saʿīd<sup>25</sup> and Michael the Syrian,<sup>26</sup> although neither of those accounts give a significant role to Armenian scholars in the debate. For Matthew's purposes, this dispute highlighted the consequences of wrong belief. The lamps of the Holy Sepulchre failed to burn; the Christians who, 'puffed up with arrogance', persisted in their erroneous observance were massacred by the Muslims as they celebrated at the shrine. The argument was resolved, claims Matthew, when the emperor Basil II summoned the *vardapet* Samuēl<sup>27</sup> to Constantinople to explain the matter. The emperor accepted the argument of Samuel, which 'put to shame and gave the lie to all the Greek wise men'.<sup>28</sup> Peace was restored, and the Armenian faith was proved virtuous.

Matthew's treatment of the conflict between Petros Getadarj and Yovhannēs of Ani in the late 1030s may thus be seen as an attempt to illustrate the truth of the prophecy of Kozeṛn. The roots of the dispute are not clear; he refers only to 'some difficulties' that led to Petros' departure to Vaspurakan. This pair of entries closely follows the second prophecy, in which the *vardapet* had predicted that 'many schisms [will] enter the church';<sup>29</sup> here Matthew is able to show the direct fulfillment of this prophecy. Dioskoros, we are told, 'consecrated many unworthy ones to the episcopate' and 'called all those to him who had been expelled from office by the earlier *hayrapets* for their clear transgressions.'<sup>30</sup> Again, this is a fulfillment of Kozeṛn's words: 'they give

<sup>25</sup>Yahyā, 'Histoire 2', 481–3.

<sup>26</sup>Michael the Syrian, *Chronique*, vol. 3 pp. 189–90.

<sup>27</sup>Samuel Kamrājorec'i. See Ačaryan, *Hayoc' Anjnanunneri Baṛaran*, vol. 4 p. 383, no. 22; Połarean, *Hay Groṭner*, 162–6.

<sup>28</sup>Matthew of Edessa, *Žamanakagrut ʿiwn* (1898), 42–5.

<sup>29</sup>See translation, p. 295.

<sup>30</sup>Matthew of Edessa, *Žamanakagrut ʿiwn* (1898), 76.



consecration to many unworthy [men] and bring all the impure [men] into the ranks of the priesthood'.<sup>31</sup>

This episode is another example of Matthew's manipulation of timelines to serve his literary ends, as may be seen with his account of the death of Basil II and the accession of his brother Constantine VIII.<sup>32</sup> If Petros had gone to Vaspurakan for four years, he must therefore have left in 1033. This is the same year during which the eclipse that inspired the second prophecy of Kozeṛn probably occurred.<sup>33</sup> Although Matthew does not dwell explicitly on Petros' own love of money, it is likely that Kozeṛn's frequent references to avaricious church leaders were meant specifically for him.<sup>34</sup> Perhaps Petros, recently in disfavour in Ani, chose this moment to decamp for Vaspurakan. The record of the prophecy itself was moved forward three years to 485 (1036/7) in order to give a tidy interval between it and the appearance of the First Crusade; Petros' imprisonment and temporary deposition now fell neatly in the following year. Matthew thus had an appropriate vignette with which to show the beginnings of the spiritual downfall of the Armenian people.

## **The recent past: Matthew's Church in uncertain times**

In 1049, after the sack of Arcn, Petros was summoned to Constantinople. He consecrated his nephew Xač'ik as his successor, in case he did not return, and

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<sup>31</sup>See translation. p. 295.

<sup>32</sup>Within his entry for the year 478 (1029/30), Matthew describes Kozeṛn's first prophecy and the deaths of several eminent rulers, including Basil II. His brother Constantine is reported to reign for 'four years', but is also reported to have died the following year. This is a clear indication that Matthew's misplacement of Basil's death did not stem from confusion.

<sup>33</sup>See above, p. 89.

<sup>34</sup>Mahé, 'L'Église arménienne', 526.

set out with a retinue of clerics and *vardapets* of whom Matthew names several.<sup>35</sup> Petros was not allowed to return to Ani; he remained in Constantinople for a few years and then settled in Sebasteia, near the descendants of the exiled king of Vaspurakan, until his death in 507 (1058/9).

His successor, Xaç'ik, fared little better. He was summoned in turn to Constantinople in 508 (1059/60) by the emperor Constantine X Doukas, and there put under great pressure to accept union with the church of Constantinople. Xaç'ik was confined in the capital for three years, and then released in his turn to live in Sebasteia until his death in 514 (1065/6). Shortly thereafter, Constantine X summoned the Arcruni brothers to Constantinople in order to agree on an act of union; they took the *vardapet* Yakob K'arap'nec'i (Sanahnec'i) with them. Matthew, who was very probably following the account of Yakob's own chronicle, writes that the emperor tried to keep the young ex-king Gagik II Bagratuni away from the meeting while he negotiated a document of union with Sanahnec'i, who 'went a little to the Roman side concerning the duality of Christ.'<sup>36</sup> When Gagik arrived, answering the secret summons of the Arcruni brothers, he destroyed Yakob's document of union and wrote his own, uncompromising, confession of faith. This document is preserved in its entirety in the Chronicle; upon hearing it read, the emperor and the court clergy dropped their attempts to force union upon the Armenians, and 'the king Doukas acted with friendship and acceptance toward [Gagik, Atom, Abusahl, and the other Armenian princes].'<sup>37</sup> Matthew ends this entry with another list of 'illustrious *vardapets*' who were active at the time.

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<sup>35</sup>Matthew of Edessa, *Žamanakagrut' iwn* (1898), 105.

<sup>36</sup>Ibid., 161–2.

<sup>37</sup>Ibid., 179.

As Mahé suggests,<sup>38</sup> the incident is unlikely to have happened just as Matthew reports. Gagik appeared in Constantinople, made a profession of faith, and left angry and irritated. Matthew reports no further attempts by Constantine X to intervene in Armenian ecclesiastical affairs, although the pressure he had previously exerted on the Armenian princes and clerics had been constant; was he really convinced of the truth of Armenian orthodoxy, or did Gagik leave the court angrily because he had finally been coerced into an act of union? Perhaps Matthew has here adopted the lost account of Sanahnec'i, in which he chose to salvage Gagik's reputation by denying the union that, in any event, quickly became irrelevant after the Byzantine loss of Anatolia and Armenia, and substituting his version of an uncompromising confession of faith by the last king of Armenia.

Around this time, Constantine X allowed the appointment of a *katholikos* to replace Xaç'ik. The office was bestowed upon Vahram Pahlawuni, son of Grigor Magistros, who took the regnal name Grigor II and would be known as 'Vkayasēr', or 'Martyrophile'.<sup>39</sup> Constantine may have considered Grigor, who had already held Byzantine office, to be a pliable, pro-union choice,<sup>40</sup> but in the event the new *katholikos* guarded Armenian ecclesiastical independence. It may have been this pressure on Grigor<sup>41</sup> which caused him to leave his see

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<sup>38</sup>Mahé, 'L'Église arménienne', 530–1.

<sup>39</sup>P. Halfter, *Das Papsttum und die Armenier im frühen und hohen Mittelalter: von den ersten Kontakten bis zur Fixierung der Kirchenunion im Jahre 1198* (Cologne: Böhlau Verlag, 1996), 112–3, suggests that the office of *katholikos* remained empty for five years after Xaç'ik's death; the date given by Matthew would seem to contradict this. In any event, Halfter's suggestion that Grigor Vkayasēr was chosen for his presumed pro-Byzantine sympathies stands.

<sup>40</sup>*Ibid.*, 113.

<sup>41</sup>*Ibid.*, 113.

only a few years after his consecration, travelling to Rome and Egypt.<sup>42</sup> His secretary Gēorgē was anointed in his stead. Although Gēorgē was deposed after three years,<sup>43</sup> this episode set a precedent for regional katholikoi who reigned concurrently.

With the rise of Philaretos came further complications within the church. Philaretos was a Chalcedonian, for which (among other reasons) Matthew excoriated him; however, his apparent aim during this time was to reconstitute an Armenian homeland with himself as regent, and this required an Armenian katholikos, even a monophysite one, whose legitimacy was generally accepted. To this end, around 521 or 522 (1072–4) he invited Grigor to take up his duties as katholikos there. Grigor refused, and after another invitation he agreed to allow Sargis, the nephew of Petros Getadarj, to be consecrated as a new katholikos.<sup>44</sup> Sargis held office in Philaretos' principality from the town of Honi; Grigor, meanwhile, travelled to Ani and consecrated his own nephew Barseł bishop of Ani, after which he travelled to Constantinople, possibly also to Rome,<sup>45</sup> and settled in Egypt. Barseł was promoted to the office of katholikos in Ani in 530 (1081/2).<sup>46</sup>

In 534 (1085/6), the district of Ĵahan, including Honi, was captured by a Turkish emir. T'ēodoros Alaxōsik, the successor of Sargis as katholikos

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<sup>42</sup>Matthew of Edessa, *Žamanakagrut 'iwn* (1898), 189–90; see also Dédéyan, *Les Arméniens entre Grecs, Musulmans et Croisés*, 246–7.

<sup>43</sup>Matthew of Edessa, *Žamanakagrut 'iwn* (1898), 205–6.

<sup>44</sup>For a discussion of Philaretos' attempts to set up a catholicosate within his principality, and Grigor Vkasēr's antipathy toward him, see Dédéyan, *Les Arméniens entre Grecs, Musulmans et Croisés*, 49, 225–34.

<sup>45</sup>The question of Grigor's itinerary, and the specific question of whether he actually travelled to Rome, has been debated. See Halfter, *Das Papsttum und die Armenier*, 120–1 and Dédéyan, *Les Arméniens entre Grecs, Musulmans et Croisés*, 247–56 for the opposing viewpoints.

<sup>46</sup>Matthew of Edessa, *Žamanakagrut 'iwn* (1898), 220–2.

there, was unable or unwilling to join Philaretos in Marash; Philaretos 'came to resent lord T'ēodoros, and he decided to install another katholikos due to his wicked and evil inclinations.'<sup>47</sup> There were now four Armenian katholikoi—three of them, Grigor Vkayasēr, T'ēodoros, and Barseł, were in a direct line of consecration and the fourth, Pawłos of Marash, was an 'anti-katholikos'. This state of affairs moved Matthew to write a short excursus on the confusion that reigned; he explains that this confusion 'did not arise through the manifestation of the Holy Spirit, but through chance and fortune and gifts of gold and silver.'<sup>48</sup> This situation, he says, was the fulfillment of several prophecies, including that of Yovhannēs Kozeṛn. Like the Armenian state, the Armenian church had fragmented through the faults of its leaders and was now suffering under the domination of hostile overlords, be they Greek, Turkish, or free agents such as Philaretos.

After the demise of the principality of Philaretos, Barseł went to the court of the sultan Malik-Shāh in 539 (1090/1) to secure concessions for the Christian population. Having succeeded, he travelled to Jahan and deposed T'ēodoros.<sup>49</sup> Both Barseł (in Ani) and T'ēodoros (in Honi) had exercised their office under Turkish dominion; it was Barseł who secured his own legitimacy from Malik-Shah, and it was T'ēodoros who, in some sense, represented the failed state of Philaretos. We may thus infer that Barseł's treaty with Malik-Shāh had come at the expense of T'ēodoros, and it was on the sultan's authority that he deposed his rival and, in practice, unified the office of katholikos once more. Grigor

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<sup>47</sup>Matthew of Edessa, *Žamanakagrut 'iwn* (1898), 228.

<sup>48</sup>Ibid., 229.

<sup>49</sup>Ibid., 240–1.

Vkayasēr continued to hold his office in Egypt. Thus stood matters on the eve of the First Crusade.

## **The Armenian church in the wake of the First Crusade**

As we have seen, the Armenian church had been divided, pressured, and nearly suppressed during the years between the fall of the Bagratid kingdom and the fall of Philaretos. The katholikos Barseł had recently succeeded in reaching an accommodation with the Turks<sup>50</sup> when the Crusader victories in Edessa, Antioch, and Jerusalem dramatically and permanently (so far as Matthew and his contemporaries were aware) changed the balance of power in the region. The Armenian church and people needed a protector. Malik-Shāh was dead, and his successors were not necessarily well-disposed toward Christians. The Byzantine Empire had lost its grip on much of its Asian territory, and its new emperor, Alexios I, was as concerned with the eradication of heresy as any of his predecessors.<sup>51</sup> Could the solution to Armenian security lie in Latin protection?

The Armenian people were initially convinced of it, if one judges by the rapturous reception that Matthew reports in his initial entries on the subject. Their disillusionment quickly followed, with the Latin usurpation of one Armenian principality after another, and the occasional bloodbath against native Christian populations. Nevertheless, by the 1130s it was clear that the Latins differed from both the Byzantines and the Muslims in that they displayed little interest in either engaging in religious persecution of the Armenians or converting them

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<sup>50</sup> Augé, *Byzantins, arméniens & francs*, 70.

<sup>51</sup> Ibid., 323.

to their own creed.<sup>52</sup> The Armenian katholikoi had been peripatetic since the expulsions of Petros and Xaç'ik from Ani. Barseł had eventually settled within the principality of Goł Vasil, where he died in 562 (1113/4); the principality did not long survive Vasil's own death in November 1112, however, and Barseł's successor Grigor III was once again in search of a secure seat. He soon settled with his brother Nersēs<sup>53</sup> at Covk', within the Crusader county of Edessa, but without a firm understanding with the Latins his seat must necessarily have been at risk.

### **The community of clerics as seen in the Chronicle**

It was in this environment of uncertainty, during the 1130s, that Matthew wrote his Chronicle. The church he portrayed was his own community; its history was his own, in an even closer sense than the wider history of the Armenians. That he lived and worked in a large fraternity of clergymen, monks, and *vardapets* is evident throughout Books Two and Three; from the exile of Petros Getadarj through the remainder of the Chronicle, he makes frequent reference to various eminent scholars whose names survive nowhere else. The Church that he portrayed was never divided by theological controversy; the lack of this particular brand of dissension thus precluded the need for him to condemn those men with whom he had a personal link, even when, in his opinion, they had erred. Dioskoros, the anti-katholikos of 1038–9, returned to Sanahin after his deposition 'with a great deal of shame for his deeds.'<sup>54</sup> Matthew's possible

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<sup>52</sup>Michael the Syrian draws this distinction between the Byzantines on the one hand and the Latins and Turks on the other (*Chronique*, vol. 3 p. 262).

<sup>53</sup>a.k.a. Nersēs Šnorhali, who would succeed Grigor as katholikos.

<sup>54</sup>Matthew of Edessa, *Žamanakagrut'ivn* (1898), 78.

mentor, Yakob Sanahnec'i, was himself a pupil of Dioskoros<sup>55</sup>; how then could Matthew be expected to condemn Yakob's own teacher? Matthew says briefly of Yakob himself that he 'went a little to the Roman side concerning the duality of Christ'<sup>56</sup>—that is, toward Chalcedonianism. Matthew, the 'passionate monophysite' who is said to have condemned Chalcedonianism in all its forms, will not condemn his friend.

The latter part of Book Two, and the entirety of Book Three, contain obituary notices for several clerics, *vardapets*, and holy men. Matthew is liberal with his praise for each of these men; if his eulogy stems from a personal acquaintance, we may use these notices to derive an approximate duration of his own monastic life. Yakob Sanahnec'i died in 534 (1085/6); his chronicle was a primary source for Matthew's, and his obituary is the first substantial record of a cleric who did not hold the rank of *katholikos*, outside of the lists of 'eminent *vardapets*' who journeyed to Constantinople with Petros in 498 (1049/50) and with Gagik II in 514 (1065/6). Matthew's own experience would then have dated from sometime during the reign of Philaretos; his violent antipathy toward this ruler suggests that the majority of the monastic community of Edessa opposed him. The multiple warm welcomes given to Barseł, nephew of Grigor Vkayasēr who was himself a staunch opponent of Philaretos, appear to confirm this.<sup>57</sup> We may reasonably suppose from such evidence that Matthew was active in the monastic community of Edessa, in some capacity, before 1085; he would then have witnessed the fall of Philaretos, the brief Muslim occupation of Edessa,

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<sup>55</sup>Matthew of Edessa, *Žamanakagrut iwn* (1898), 226–7.

<sup>56</sup>*Ibid.*, 161–2.

<sup>57</sup>For a discussion of the rivalry between the Pahlawunis and Philaretos, see Dédéyan, *Les Arméniens entre Grecs, Musulmans et Croisés*, 47–8.



and the reigns of a series of Armenian lords of the city. He would have seen T'oros murdered by a mob of Edessenes in 1097, and the establishment of the first Crusader state. From that point on, he must have been engaged in the constant debate over Latin-Armenian relations, and his own portrayal of the Latins within the Chronicle must have been influenced by the opinions of his fellow clerics.

### **The Chronicle's dates of authorship**

At what point did Matthew lay down his pen? Mikayel Čamč'ean suggested that he died during the capture of Edessa by Zengi, the emir of Mosul and Aleppo, in 1144; Dulaurier believed that he died prior to that, albeit in Kesun,<sup>58</sup> and this is the belief shared by all those modern commentators who accept the 585 (1136/7) entry as Matthew's own work. He certainly could not have lived beyond that event; the fall of Edessa to the Muslims ran counter to the very core of Kozern's prophecy. But did he write even as late as 1144?

Over the course of the late 1130s, Crusader rule in Syria began to be threatened both by the strength of Zengi and by the renewed attempts of John II Komnenos to re-assert Byzantine authority in the area. The necessity of cooperation between the Armenians and Latins was thus becoming clear.<sup>59</sup> In 1137, that necessity crystallised when John Komnenos marched on campaign to southern Anatolia.<sup>60</sup> The campaign resulted in the capture of Levon, the

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<sup>58</sup>Matthew of Edessa, *Chronique*, preface, pp. ix-x, including a reference to Čamč'ean's work.

<sup>59</sup>G. Dédéyan, 'Le rôle complémentaire des frères Pahlawuni Grigor III, Catholikos, et Saint Nersès Šnorhali, Coadjuteur, dans le rapprochement avec les Latins, à l'époque de la chute d'Édesse (v. 1139–v. 1150)', *Revue des études arméniennes* 23 (1992): 237–52 at 239.

<sup>60</sup>This campaign is well-documented in the Byzantine sources: Choniates, Niketas, *Nicetae Choniatae Historia*, vol. 11, ed. J. L. van Dieten (Berlin: W. de Gruyter, 1975), 21–32; Kinnamos,

Rubenid ruler of Cilicia, and his entire family, as well as the submission of the Crusader principality of Antioch. John himself was forced to defend his troops from Zengid attacks during the campaign. In reaction to these developments, as well as to intra-Latin affairs in Antioch, Pope Innocent II sent a legate, Cardinal Alberic of Ostia, to investigate matters.<sup>61</sup> During his journey, Alberic met the katholikos Grigor III and his brother Nerses; the result of this meeting was the synod of Jerusalem in 1141. The synod included Latin, Syriac, and Armenian participants, including Grigor III himself; its aim was church unity in the face of threats, both Byzantine and Zengid, to their shared territory.<sup>62</sup> Although, according to Michael the Syrian, Grigor refused to affirm the resulting profession of faith with an oath,<sup>63</sup> the Armenians were able to come to agreement with the other two churches.

The council of 1141 was, in many senses, the defining event for rapprochement between the Armenians and the Latins; John Komnenos' 1137 campaign in Cilicia was, on the opposite extreme, a disaster for Byzantine-Armenian relations. Had Matthew witnessed either of these events, one would expect reflections of them within the Chronicle. Instead, John is mentioned only at his accession within Matthew's text, where he is praised as having 'a mild and agreeable disposition' and being 'accepting of the Armenian nation'.<sup>64</sup> On the other hand, as we have seen above, Matthew did not have a tremendously

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Ioānnēs, *Ioannis Cinnami epitome rerum ab Ioanne et Alexio Comnenis gestarum*, ed. A. Meineke (Bonn: E. Weber, 1836), 16–21.

<sup>61</sup>For a fuller account of Alberic's trip, see Halfter, *Das Papsttum und die Armenier*, 126–30.

<sup>62</sup>Dédéyan, 'Frères Pahlawuni', 239–42.

<sup>63</sup>Michael the Syrian, *Chronique*, vol. 3 p. 256. 'After that, the Franks required oaths of the Syrians and Armenians that they would not accept any other confession; the Syrians took them gladly, but the Armenians did not agree, and it was recognised that they were fabulists and simoniacs.'

<sup>64</sup>Matthew of Edessa, *Žamanakagrut iwn* (1898), 346.

complimentary view of the Latins as a whole. There is no hint in his text of a rupture in relations with John Komnenos, nor an impending rapprochement with the Latins; the story he records remains one in which the mythical 'Roman Emperor' will appear in the near future to usher in the final world peace. Matthew must have written his last Chronicle entry before news of the capture of the Cilician princes had reached his ears.

## Chapter 9

### Conclusion

The aim of this thesis has been to open the way to a full evaluation of the Chronicle of Matthew of Edessa, not only as a work of history but also as a work of historical literature. Although the Chronicle has been heavily used as a source of historical information for Byzantium, Armenia, and Syria between the mid-tenth and mid-twelfth centuries, and particularly as a source from the point of view of Armenians and other eastern Christians affected by the First Crusade, there existed no literary analysis of the text. Consequently, there has been no understanding of the extent to which the Chronicle can be trusted as a factual source, and no acknowledgment of the literary forms of Armenian historiography to which Matthew adhered. The key to understanding of the Chronicle as a work of historical literature lies in the prophetic texts of Yovhannēs Kozērn included in the first book, and in the author's own prologues to the second and third books wherein he sets out his composition methods, his justification for writing, and his own world-view.

The primary obstacle to a literary study of the text has been the lack of a critical edition. There exist two editions of the text, both well over 100 years old. Both of these editions were based upon a small subset of the available manuscripts, and neither of them ventured into editorial criticism of the texts used. The sheer volume of extant manuscripts of the Chronicle, and the difficulty of ascertaining the stemmatic relationship between them, renders the task of critical edition very difficult. It is only in the last ten to twenty years that computer technology has advanced to the point that full critical editions of texts such as the Chronicle have become feasible. Within this thesis, I have presented a set of methods for the computer-assisted transcription, collation, edition, publication, and stemmatic analysis of many manuscripts. These methods were developed on the basis of existing standards, such as the Unicode standard for language character encoding and the XML format defined by the Text Encoding Initiative for the digital representation of manuscript and printed texts; they are expressed in a suite of software tools that I have developed specifically for the purpose of textual edition. The software tools handle each of the stages of production of the critical edition. A 'collation engine' performs automatic text collation on a large number of manuscripts, and saves the results into a TEI XML file. That file in turn becomes the input for an editing interface; the aim of this interface is to automate all tasks inherent in the creation of a critical apparatus, so that the editor need not undertake any task that is not directly related to editorial review of readings within the text.

The prophecies of Yovhannēs Kozern and the prologues to Books Two and Three have served as the experimental base upon which these computer methods were tested. These particular excerpts were selected for their direct

relevance to understanding the literary structure of the Chronicle; they also serve as a representative sample of excerpts that are distributed throughout the three books, and give thereby a good base for analysis of the manuscripts. This is particularly useful for stemmatic analysis of the manuscripts. Due to the large number of manuscripts and the lack of explicit information concerning the provenance of many of them, traditional application of stemmatic analysis methods is prohibitively difficult for the Chronicle. Thanks to modern advances in the field of cladistic analysis of manuscript variants, which is itself based on the phylogenetic analysis used in evolutionary biology to derive evolutionary 'family trees' from the genetic data of living species, a stemmatic analysis becomes possible using the data from manuscript collation. Through application of this statistical method and judicious interpretation of the results, I have been able to construct the stemma shown on page 74. The information in this stemma will in turn be of immense help in the task of edition of the remainder of the Chronicle.

From a discussion of edition of the text, we may now turn to its interpretation. The prophecies of Yovhannēs Kozeṛn are not only the centrepiece of Book One; they are also the framework upon which Matthew's conception of history is built. The Chronicle was written as a record of the fulfilment of these prophecies, and in particular the second prophecy, dated by Matthew to the Armenian year 485 (1036/7) but extended during the early twelfth century to encompass the events of the late eleventh. This prophecy was itself an adaptation of the Apocalypse of Pseudo-Methodius, a seventh-century Syriac text that was circulated widely in the Greek-, Latin-, and Armenian-speaking world. The prophecies of Kozeṛn, as they appear in the Chronicle, set out

a specific timeline for events during this period. The leaders and populace of Armenia were to fall into sin and weakness; their consequent punishment would take the form of Turkish invasions. After sixty years of invasion and misery, the First Crusade would arrive to liberate Jerusalem. This would not immediately bring peace; instead, it would usher in fifty further years of persecution and Christian suffering, this time at the hands of the Persians. Finally, the 'Roman Emperor' would re-assert his authority over the whole of Christendom, the Persians would be driven beyond the Biblical river Gihon, and the final reign of peace would thereby be inaugurated.

Having set out this pattern for history, Matthew has taken pains to adapt the course of events to fit it. This is most evident in his portrayal of the fortunes of the Armenian nobility throughout the Chronicle. The kings of Armenia are portrayed as strong, wise, and valiant in the tenth century; this portrayal is maintained even where chronological confusion has led Matthew to assign eleventh-century events, including a civil war between brother-kings, to this 'virtuous' era. The nobility is shown to steadily weaken throughout the eleventh century, as the kingdom of Armenia first loses its independence to the Byzantine Empire in the 1040s, and then loses its territory to Turkish and Kurdish invasions of the later eleventh century. Matthew's need to portray the Armenians as helpless and leaderless causes him to pass over certain events in the late eleventh century, such as the establishment of the Rubenid princes in Cilicia and that of Goł Vasil in Kesun and Raban; it has also played a role in his unremittingly negative portrayal of Philaretos, an Armenian Chalcedonian who took advantage of the power vacuum after the Byzantine defeat at the battle of Manzikert in 1071 to create his own principality centred at Marash.

Although the prophecies of Kozeṛn were taken by Matthew to refer specifically to Armenian history, his portrayal of the surrounding powers may be understood insofar as it helps to explain the roles that Matthew assigned each of them in the fulfilment of Armenian destiny. The first of these powers is the Byzantine empire. The relationship between Byzantium and Armenia had long been informed both by the cultural affinity that had its root in their mutual Christian identity, and the ever-present conflict, both in the secular and the ecclesiastical spheres, between Byzantine (Chalcedonian) claims of suzerainty and Armenian (monophysite) assertion of independence. Matthew's portrayal of Byzantium was positive so long as the empire assumed the role of fellow-Christian protector of Armenia; the embodiment of this ideal was the emperor Basil II, who by the twelfth century was portrayed as a 'father' to the Armenian nation, placing the welfare of his Armenian subjects foremost in his priorities. The subsequent course of Byzantine and Byzantine/Armenian history in the Chronicle, particularly the annexation of the Armenian kingdoms and the military loss of Armenian territory amid constant pressure on the Armenians to convert to Chalcedonianism, is presented as the betrayal of the ideal for which Basil stood. Although Matthew does not make such grave chronological errors in his presentation of Byzantine history as he occasionally does for Armenian history, there are instances for both categories wherein he re-orders events in order to better fit the structure of Kozeṛn's prophecies.

The Armenians did not have such a complex relationship either with the Muslim emirates of the tenth and eleventh century, or with the Crusaders who appeared at the turn of the twelfth, as they did with the Byzantines. In addition, despite the appearance of both groups within the prophecy of Kozeṛn,



neither group played a nuanced role within that apocalyptic vision. In this sense, Matthew had less need to embellish his presentation of either group within the Chronicle. His portrayal of the various Muslim groups fits within a well-documented model of Armenian historiography—they are frequently demonised as ‘infidels’, there are many descriptions of raids on Christian territory, and the suffering that resulted is explained as the expression of divine anger at the Christian populace. This rather simplistic model usually served to mask a practical *modus vivendi* that often developed between Muslim leaders and the Armenians subject to them, and Matthew’s text is no exception. The wealth of detail he provides about the internal affairs of the Abbasid caliphate, and the praise he reserves for benevolent Muslim leaders, highlights this dichotomy.

Matthew had no model within Armenian historiography to guide his portrayal of the Crusaders. This gave him great difficulty when he came to compose Book Three, and the difficulty was compounded by the fact that the course of events since the capture of Jerusalem had been neither stirringly successful nor thoroughly disastrous for the Christians. The Crusader princes quickly came to control Matthew’s city of Edessa and much of the surrounding territory, often expelling native Armenian lords in the process. The image he gives of the Crusaders is consequently profoundly mixed. It is clear that, by the time he wrote, Matthew did not believe that the Crusaders would be the instrument of redemption for which the prophecy called—despite their apparent permanence in Syria and Palestine, they were assigned no particular role in the prophetic vision of history after their capture of Jerusalem. He had nevertheless come to accept their rule over the eastern Christian territories in which they lived, and

acknowledged, despite the occasional violence that accompanied their rise to power, that the majority of them ruled their territories well.

Although the Chronicle does not cover ecclesiastical matters to the same extent that other histories, including the later Armenian-language history of Stepʿanos Orbelian or the Syriac-language chronicle of Michael the Syrian, it was written from within a church context. Matthew describes himself only as an Edessene priest and monk, but his frequent reference to the deeds and deaths of well-known clerics and *vardapets*, as well as his apparent dependence upon the texts of clerical scholars such as Yovhannēs Kozērn and Yakob Sanahnecʿi and his long explanation of the assistance he sought from other scholars in the task of composing the Chronicle, demonstrate that he was writing from within an Armenian ecclesiastical confraternity. In this sense, the attitudes expressed by Matthew toward the church, toward Armenian history, and toward Byzantines, Muslims, and Crusaders are attitudes that he developed from within the ecclesiastical community of Edessa, Syria, and Mesopotamia. This realisation in turn helps the reader to more accurately date the composition of Matthew's text. In 1137, the Byzantine emperor John II Komnenos went on campaign against the Armenian Rubenids of Cilicia and the Latin prince of Antioch. Although the campaign was successful, it precipitated a great deal of diplomatic activity between the papacy on the one hand and the Syrian and Armenian monophysite churches on the other which culminated in the Jerusalem synod of 1141 and an agreement of confessional unity between the churches. Given Matthew's apparent position within the community of the Armenian church, the ambivalent sentiments he expresses toward the Latins and the complimentary (though vague) picture he paints of John Komnenos

suggest that he could not have written the majority of Book Three later than 1137, when relations between Latin and Armenian began to become dramatically closer. Taken together with the descriptions he gives of his work in his own prologues, we may conclude that Matthew began to assemble material for a chronicle around 1123. He penned the prologue to Book Two around 1130, at which point he had written Book One and intended to compose a history for eighty more years, ending in 1131/2. He set down his pen after finishing Book Two, and came back to it seven years later, after many of the events of the 1130s but before John Komnenos' campaign in Cilicia. The prophecy with which he had framed the Chronicle was, he believed, seven years closer to completion; it was vitally important that someone '[record] this massacre and tribulation for future times, for the good era, when God will give to the faithful the era that will indeed be full of every joy.' Matthew was unable to finish his work; his last entry came three years short of his goal. The Chronicle he left nevertheless reflects his belief that, though he may not live to see it himself, the final reign of peace on earth was imminent.

# Appendix A: Text of selected excerpts from the Chronicle

## List of witnesses

A	Matenadaran 1896	(1689)
B	Matenadaran 1767	(1623)
C	Matenadaran 3071	(1651–61; variants given in 1898 Vałaršapat edition only)
D	Matenadaran 3519	(1647)
E	Matenadaran 3520	(17th c.; variants given in 1898 Vałaršapat edition only)
F	Matenadaran 1731	(1617)
G	Matenadaran 2644	(1850–7; variants given in 1898 Vałaršapat edition only)
H	Matenadaran 1768	(17th c.)
I	Matenadaran 1769	(1664)
J	Matenadaran 5587	(1617)
Jer	Jerusalem printed edition	(1869)
K	Bzommar 449	(1699)
L	London OR 5260	(1660)
O	Oxford MS Arm e.32	(17th c., around 1703)
V	Venice 887	(1590–1600)
W	Vienna 574	(1601)
X	Venice 901	(1669)
Y	Venice 913	(17th c.)
Z	Venice 917	(17th c.)

## Text

### First prophecy of Yovhannēs Kozein, Armenian era 478 (1029/30)

*The witnesses C, H, and L lack this section of text, and are excluded from the apparatus.*

- Ի թուականութեան Հայոց 478 յամս կայսերն Յունաց Վասլի, եղև յերկինս  
ահաւոր նշան և սոսկալի, և բարկութիւն ի վերայ ամենայն արարածոց, ի հոկտեմբեր  
ամսոյ երիս յերրորդ ժամու աւուրն, պատահեցաւ վերին հաստատութիւնն երկնից  
յարևելից կուսէ՝ մինչև յարևմուտս, ընդ երկուս հերձաւ կապուտ երկինդ. և լոյս  
5 պայծառ յերկիր թափեցաւ ի հիւսիսային կողմանէ, և մեծաւ շարժամբ դողաց  
ամենայն երկիր. և նախ քան զնուագիլ լուսոյն՝ եղև գոջիւն և թնդիւն ահաւոր ի  
վերայ ամենայն արարածոց, խաւարեցաւ արեգակն և աստեղք երևեցան որպէս ի  
մէջ գիշերի, և սուգ զգեցան ամենայն երկիր, և դառն արտասուաւք աղաղակէին  
ամենայն ազինք առ Աստուած: Եւ ապա յետ երեք աւուր ժողովեցան ամենայն  
10 իշխանք և ազատքն հրամանաւ թագաւորին Հայոց Յովհաննիսի, և եկեալ առաջի  
սուրբ վարդապետին Յովհաննու Կողբուանն, որ էր այր աստուածազգեաց և հրեշ-  
տակակրաւն և լի իսկ առաքելական և մարգարէական գրոց գիտութեամբ: Եւ  
յորժամ եկին իշխանքն Հայոց՝ հարցանել զնա և իմանալ վասն հրաշալի տեսլեանն  
և նշանին, և տեսին զսուրբ վարդապետն Յովհաննէս՝ անկեալ ի վերայ երեսաց  
15 իւրոց տրտմութեամբ, և լայր դառնապէս: Եւ ի հարցանելն նոցա, նա դառն ոգով  
և աղիողորմ հառաչանաւք ետ պատասխանի և ասաց. «Ո՛վ որդիք, լուարուք  
ինձ վայ և եղուկ է ամենայն մարդկան զի ահա այսաւր հազար ամ է կապա-  
նացն սատանայի՝ զոր կապեաց տէրն մեր յիսուս Քրիստոս խաչիւն իւրով սրբով,  
մանաւանդ իւր սուրբ մկրտութեամբն ի Յորդանան գետն: Եւ արդ արձակեցաւ  
20 Սատանայ ի կապանաց իւրոց, ըստ վկայութեան տեսլեանն Յովհաննու աւետա-  
րանչին. որպէս ասաց նմա հըրեշտակն Աստուծոյ թէ 1000 ամ կապեսցի Սատանայ,

և դարձեալ արձակեցցի ի կապանաց իւրոց: Եւ ահա այսաւր արձակեցաւ Սատանայ  
 ի հազար ամէ կապանաց իւրոց, որ Հայոց թուականն 478 ամ է. և կալ զառաջինն  
 552 որ լինի 1030 ամ. զերեսուն ամն տուր յառաջ քան ըզմկրտութիւնն, և կալ  
 25 զհազարն մինչև ցայսաւր: Եւ արդ վասն այսորիկ եղև պատահումն երկնից: Եւ  
 ահա յայսմհետէ ոչ ոք կարասցէ կալ հաստատուն ի հաւատս Քրիստոսի, և ի  
 պատուիրանսն Աստուծոյ: Ոչ հայրապետ և ոչ վարդապետ. ոչ եպիսկոպոս և  
 ոչ քահանայ. ոչ աբեղայ և ոչ կրանաւոր, ոչ իշխան և ոչ ժողովուրդ. իշ-  
 խանք յարենան ի գողս, և յաւազակս և ի յափշտակաւս: Դատաւորք ի կաշառս  
 30 և յանիրաւ դատաստանս: Կրանաւորք թողուն զանապատս և զմենաստանս, և  
 յաշխարհի սբաղմունս դեգերին, և շրջին ընդ փողոցս և ի մէջ կանանց. ատեն  
 զաղաւթս, և թողուն զկարգս կրանաւորութեան իւրեանց, սիրեն զվարս աշխարհի,  
 և զհետ երթան գովեստից մարդկան: Որոճալով որոճեն զդիւական երգս, և փքա-  
 ցեալ ի վերա ընկերացն ասելով, թէ ես կցուրդ և մեղեդի գիտեմ և դու ոչ. և այսու  
 35 պատճառաւ՝ պղտորեն զկարգ ժամատեղացն: Լինին և բազումք ուսումնատեացք,  
 ձոյլք՝ և դատարկաբանք, տրտնջաւղք՝ և ամբաստանաւղք: Եւ ուր ուրեք երևի  
 ճշմարտութիւն ի մարդիկ, զի լինին կամապաշտք՝ անձնասէրք՝ և ընկերատեացք,  
 շոգմոգք, քսուք, ստախաւսք, հպարտք, փառասէրք, անձնահաճք, ինքնահա-  
 ւանք, որկորամոլք, գինէսէրք և ցանկասէրք: Որդեակք իմ, ահա յայսմհետէ խա-  
 40 փանեացի փառաբանութիւնն Աստուծոյ ի մարդկանէ, և ոչ երևի ճշմարտութիւն առ  
 մարդիկք: Այլ և իշխանք պիղծ և մեծախտիւ յանդգնեալ և մոլորեալ, թողուն զհոգս

22 ըստ վկայութեան տեսլեանն Յովհաննու...արձակեցցի ի կապանաց իւրոց: ] c.f. Revelation  
 20.

շինութեան տանց և զյաջողուածս գործոց, և \*միշտ և հանապազ ի գինարբուս  
 դեգերին, վասն սիրոյ և ցանկութեան չար և պիղծ ախտին, հայրապետք և եպիս-  
 կոպոսք և քահանայք և կրանաւորք արծաթասէրք առաւել քան զաստուա-  
 45 ծասէրք: Որդեակք իմ, ահա յայսմհետէ սատանայի կամքն առաւել կատարեսցի

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42 \* ] B D E F G I J K O V W X Y Z *incipunt*

42 միշտ և ] W մինչև

42 ի ] B *om.*

42 գինարբուս ] A O գինարբուսն

43 դեգերին, ] W դեգերէին

43 սիրոյ ] F Y սիրոց

43 ցանկութեան ] Y ցանկութեանց

43 ախտին, ] Y յաղթին

43-44 եպիսկոպոսք ] A D F I J Jer K O V W X Y Z եպիսկոպոսունք

44 և քահանայք ] K քահանայք

44 կրանաւորք ] W կրանաւորք

44 առաւել ] K *om.*

44 առաւել քան զաստուածասէրք: ] X *om.*

44-45 զաստուածասէրք: ] A D F I J Jer K O V W Z աստուածասէրք; B աստուածասէր

45 Որդեակք ] F X որդեակ

45 յայսմհետէ ] I յայսմէ

45 առաւել ] K *om.*

45 կատարեսցի ] X տիրեսցի; B կատարեսցէ

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43-44 եպիսկոպոսք ] Most witnesses have the post-classical եպիսկոպոսունք; here we retain the more symmetrical եպիսկոպոսք. (c.f. Karst p. 206.)

44-45 զաստուածասէրք: ] A preponderance of readings omit գ-, but neither Karst nor Meillet suggest that is grammatically correct.

յորդիս մարդկան քան զԱստուծոյն, և ի ձեռն անարժան պատարագողացն, որ  
յայսմհետէ լինելոց է: Բարկանայ Աստուած ի վերայ արարածոցս, ևս առաւել ի  
վերայ մատուցողին զնա զի յանարժանիցն պատարագելոց է Քրիստոս և յանար-  
ժանսն բաշխի, և առաւել վիրաւորելոց է տէր մեր յիսուս Քրիստոս ի յանարժան  
50 քահանայիցն քան զչարչարելն և զխաչելն ի հրէիցն, զի արձակեցաւ Սատանայ

46 յորդիս ] B D F I J O V W X Y Z որդիս

46 զԱստուծոյն, ] F X այն; V Y Աստուծոյն

46 պատարագողացն, ] B D I J O W Z պատարագացն

47 արարածոցս, ] B արարածոց

48 մատուցողին ] D I J O W Z պատարագողին

48 զի ] X om.

48 յանարժանիցն ] D F I J K O V W X Y Z անարժանիցն

48 Քրիստոս և ... է ] D I J W Z om.

48-49 յանարժանսն ] K անարժանսն

49 բաշխի, ] O բաշի; Jer K V Y բաշխեսցի

49 և ] X ևս

49 առաւել վիրաւորելոց ] B առաւելոց

49 տէր ] W տէրն

49 ի ] D և

49 յանարժան ] I J K անարժան

50 քահանայիցն ] K քահանայից

50 զչարչարելն ] A զչարչարիլն; B D J K O W Z զչարչարեալն

50 զխաչելն ] A զխաչիլն; D I J K O W Z զխաչեալն; B զխաչելեալն

50 հրէիցն, ] A K հրէից

50 Սատանայ ] F J X Սատանայի



ի հազար ամէ կապանաց իւրոց, զոր կապեաց Քրիստոս: Եւ զայս, որդեակք իմ,  
պատուիրեմ ձեզ հառաչանաւք սրտիւ լալով և ողբալով, վասն զի քակտին բազումք  
ի հաւատոց և պարծանաւք ուրանան զՔրիստոս, և վասն այսորիկ խաւար կալաւ  
զամենայն արարածս:» Զայս այսպէս ասաց սուրբ վարդապետն Հայոց վասն կա-  
տարածի բարկութեան նշանին, և այլ բազում ինչ ճառեաց որ կատարելոց էր ի

51 ի] X զի; F J *om.*

51 ամէ] X յամէ ի; K ամեայ

51 կապանաց] K կապանացն

51 որդեակք իմ,] F Jer K V X Y *om.*

52 ձեզ] F X Y V ձեզ որդեակ; Jer K ձեզ որդեակք

52 սրտիւ] K սրտի

52 լալով] K ողբով

52 ողբալով,] K լալով

52 քակտին] F Jer K V X Y քակին

53 ուրանան] B ուրանալն

53 այսորիկ] K այնորիկ

53 խաւար] V Y *om.*

54 զամենայն] B *om.*

54 արարածս:»] B զարարած

54 այսպէս] Y այնպէս

54 վարդապետն] Jer K V Y հայրապետն

54–55 կատարածի] Z կատարած ի; D կատարածի ի

55 բարկութեան] I բարկութեամբ

55 նշանին,] B նշանին, որ

55 այլ] F յայլ

55 որ] D I J O W Z զոր

55 էր] F Jer K V X Y է

վերայ հաւատացելոցս, զոր ահա ամենայն ինչ կատարեցաւ մի առ մի ի ձեռն ելից  
կատարի և շուն ազգին Թուրքաց, անաւրէն և պիղծ որդւոցն Քամայ:

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56 հաւատացելոցս, ] K հաւատացելոց

56 կատարեցաւ ] J կատարացեաւ

56 ձեռն ելից ] W ձեռնելոց

57 կատարի և շուն ] Jer W om.

57 և պիղծ ] W om.

57 պիղծ ] D պիղծք

57 որդւոցն ] B D F I J O V W X Y Z որդիքն

57 որդւոցն Քամայ: ] K om.

57 Քամայ: ] X Քամայայսմի

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57 Քամայ: ] The reading in X results from the scribal joining of the final word Քամայ to the first words of the next section, Յայսմ ամի.

## Second prophecy of Yovhannēs Kozeṛn, Armenian era 485 (1036/7)

Յայսմ և ի թուականութեանս Հայոց տոմարիս 485, խաւարեցաւ արեգակն  
ահաւոր և սոսկալի տեսլեամբ: Վասն զի զոր արինակ եղև խաւարեալ ի խաչե-  
լութեանն Քրիստոսի, նոյն արինակաւ ծածկեաց զլոյսն իւր և խաւար զգեցաւ.  
և լուսաւորքն աշխարհիս ի մութն և ի սեաւ դարձան, և ամենայն երկինք իբրև

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1 և ի] W և; K *om.*

1 485,] Y 485 ամի; F X V 485 ամին

1 արեգակն] O արեգակնն; J W H Z D I L արեգակն և

2 և] H J I L *om.*; D և սաստիկ

2 Վասն զի] K *om.*

2 զի] Y զի զի

2 զի զոր] W *om.*

2 արինակ] W զորինակ

2 եղև խաւարեալ] W եղև խաւարեալն; X խաւարեալ եղև

3 արինակաւ] B Jer արինակ

3 ծածկեաց] H L ծածկեալ եղև

3 զլոյսն] X զլոյս; H L լոյս

3 իւր] H L իւր յայսմ ժամանակի

3 խաւար զգեցաւ.] J զխաւարեցգեցաւ; I զխաւարեցաւ; O խաւար ըսգեցաւ

4 լուսաւորքն] D F H I J K L O V X Y Z լուսաւորք

4 աշխարհիս] D յաշխարհս; X յաշխարհիս

4 ի մութն] K զմութն

4 և] K զգեցեալ

4 ի] B D F I J Jer K O V W X Y Z *om.*

4 դարձան,] B D H I J L O W Z դարձաւ

- 5 զկամար կապեցաւ խաւարաւն, և եղև սևացեալ արեգակն ի մէջ աւրէի, և ամենայն աստեղքն առ հասարակ երևէին որպէս ի մէջ գիշերի, և սաստկացաւ խաւարն և մութն. և գոչեաց առ հասարակ ամենայն արարածք, և հնչեցին ամենայն լերինք և բլուրք, և դողաց սասանելով լերինք և ամենայն ապառաժք, և երերալով ծփայր համատարած մեծ ծոմն ովկիանոս, և սուգ առեալ լայր զամենայն որդիս մարդկան:

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5 զկամար ] A B զկամար կամար

5 խաւարաւն, ] I J խաւառն; B H L W խաւարն

5 արեգակն ] D O Z արեգականն; I J արեգակնն

6 աստեղքն ] B D H I J L W Z աստեղք

6 առ հասարակ ] L առ հասարակ երևէին որպէս ի մէջ գիշերի և ամենայն աստեղք առ հասարակ

6 խաւարն ] O խաւարն խաւարն դողակէր ի վերայ տանն հայոց

7 մութն. ] F մութնն

7 արարածք, ] F X արարածս

7 լերինք ] B արանք

8 բլուրք, և դողաց ] X դողաց և բլուրք

8 սասանելով ] X սասանեցան

8 և ] L և բլուրք և

8 ապառաժք, ] K ծառք

8 և ] X om.

9 համատարած ] F V X Y համատարածք

9 մեծ ] D H I J L W Z om.

9 սուգ ] F սուգք

9 լայր ] F լգայր

9 զամենայն ] W Y ամենայն

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6 խաւարն ] The reading of O occurs as a scribal addition in the bottom margin.

10 Եւ եղև ի տեսանել զայս ամենայն որդւոց մարդկան, ահաբեկեալ լինէին յերկիւղէն որպէս զմեռեալ:

Յայնժամ լայր որդի առ հայր իւր, և լայր հայր ի վերայ որդւոց իւրոց. տղայք զարհուրեալք ի յահէն անկանէին ի գիրկս ծնողացն. մարքն աղէտեալ սաստիկ վառմամբ իբրև հրով, լային զտղայս իւրեանց. և այսպէս ահաբեկեալ կային 15 ամենայն արարածք, և յերկիւղէն պաշարեալ կային և ելս իրացն ոչ գտանէին. ընդ

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10 եղև ] *K om.*

10 տեսանել ] *H I J L տեսանելովն; D K O W Z տեսանելն*

10 որդւոց ] *H յորդւոց; F մարդոց*

10 մարդկան, ] *L մարդկան, Եւ եղև ի տեսանելովն զայս ամենայն որդւոց մարդկան*

10 լինէին ] *K om.*

10 յերկիւղէն ] *H L յերկիւղէն և ի յահէն; K յերկիւղէն լինէին*

11 զմեռեալ: ] *A B D F I J Jer K O V W X Y Z մեռեալ*

12 առ ] *B om.*

12 որդւոց ] *F որդոյ; X om.; H L յորդւոյ*

12 որդւոց իւրոց. ] *A B om.*

12 իւրոց. ] *F H L X իւրոյ*

12 տղայք ] *H L տղայ; I J K O V W Y Z տղայքն; X տղայն; F տղղքայն*

13 զարհուրեալք ] *B D F I J Jer L V W X Y Z զարհուրեալ*

13 յահէն ] *D յահէն ի յահէն*

13 ծնողացն. ] *K մարցն*

14 վառմամբ ] *B D F H I J Jer K L O V W Y Z այրմամբ*

14 զտղայս ] *W տղայս*

14 կային ] *B F Jer K V X Y կայր*

15 յերկիւղէն ] *K V X երկիւղէն*

15 պաշարեալ ] *K պշուցեալ*

15 ելս ] *D H յելս; K զելս*

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13 աղէտեալ ] *From աղէտանամ.*

սոսկալի նշանն զարհուրեալ հիանային և ահաբեկեալ կային առ հասարակ:

Յայնժամ տէր պետրոս հայրապետն Հայոց և թագաւորն Յովհաննէս յուղարկեալ առս փառաւորս առ սուրբ վարդապետն Հայոց Յովհաննէս, որ կոչէին Կոզեռն, վասն զի ի նմանէ գիտասցեն զմեկնութիւն մեծ նշանին, զի էր այր սուրբ և

20 սքանչելի ճգնութեամբ զարդարեալ, և մեկնիչ հին և նոր կտակարանացն Աստուծոյ,

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16 սոսկալի ] L սոսկալի իրացն և; J սոսկալին

16 նշանն ] L W նշանին; Y նշան

16 կային ] B կա

17 պետրոս ] K պետրոսն

17 հայրապետն ] C E G վարդապետն; K *om.*

17 Հայոց ] K Հայոց հայրապետն

17–18 յուղարկեալ ] K ուղարկեցին; F յղարկեալն

18 առս ] A B D F H I J Jer L O V W X Y Z արք

18 փառաւորս ] A B D F H I J Jer L O V W Y Z փառաւորք; X փառաւոր

18 վարդապետն ] D I J Jer V W Y Z հայրապետն

18 Հայոց ] H L Y *om.*

18 որ ] Jer զոր

18–19 կոչէին Կոզեռն, ] K Կոզեռն կոչէին

19 վասն ] A Jer *om.*

19 գիտասցեն ] X գիտասցին

19 զմեկնութիւն ] I J զմեկնութիւնն

19 նշանին, ] H L նշանի

19 այր ] K V Y *om.*

20 սքանչելի ] I J զսքանչելի

լցեալ վարդապետական շնորհաւք: Իսկ որք առաքեցան առ վարդապետն Հայոց՝  
Գրիգոր Մագիստրոսն որդին Վասակայ և հայկազն մեծն Սարգիս և այլք ոմանք  
յազատաց տանն Հայոց և այլք ի քահանայիցն, զի զերկրորդելն ահաւոր նշանին  
գիտասցեն:

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21 վարդապետական] X վարդապետն

21 որք] Y որ

21 առաքեցան] L առաքեացն

21 վարդապետն Հայոց] K Հայոց վարդապետն են այսոքիկ; Jer Y V Հայոց վարդապետն

22 հայկազն] A հայկազնին

22 մեծն] I մեծս; D մեծին

22 այլք] F W X այլ

23 յազատաց] K V Y ազատաց; H L յազատացն

23 այլք] B D F H I J L O W X Z այլ

23 զերկրորդելն] Z զերրորդեալն; K երկրորդելն; C E երկրորդեալն; D F H I J Jer L O V W X Y  
զերկրորդեալն; B զերկրորդեալ

23 ահաւոր] H L յահաւոր

23 նշանին] X նշանն

25      Եւ եղև իբրև գնացին առ վարդապետն Հայոց, գտանէին զնա զի դարձեալ կայր ի գետինն երեսք ի վայր ի խոր տրտմութեան, և թացեալ լինէր արտասուաւք զգետինն. և ի սաստկութենէ լալոյն և ի դառն հառաչանացն որ ելանէր ի բերանոյ նորա, ոչ ոք իշխէր ինչ հարցանել ցնա, վասն զի տեսանէին զնա ի խորին սուգս և

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25 վարդապետն] D հայրապետն

25 Հայոց,] K Հայոց, և

25 գտանէին] K գտան

25 դարձեալ] K անկեալ

26 ի գետինն] K ի գետնի; F X ի գետնին; H L *om.*

26 ի խոր] F եխոն; E ի խոհ; K և ի խոր; V ի խոն; X *om.*; B խոր

26 տրտմութեան,] D H I J L W Z տրտմութեամբ; K տրտմութենէն

26 և] K *om.*

26 լինէր] K էր

27 զգետինն. և] W *om.*

27 զգետինն. և ի] L *om.*

27 լալոյն և ի դառն] L *om.*

27 հառաչանացն] A B F Jer K V X Y հառաչանաց

28 նորա,] A I նորին

28 իշխէր] H L իշխեաց

28 ցնա,] I W Z զնա; H L նմա

28 վասն] K *om.*

28 զնա] H L *om.*

28 զնա ի] K *om.*

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25 դարձեալ] K's use of անկեալ probably reflects the scribe's lack of context for the word դարձեալ ('again').



յահագին տրամութեանս, և անդադար հեղոյր զարտասուսն և կոծէր զկուրծս իւր.  
 30 և յայնժամ նստան իշխանքն Հայոց մերձ առ վարդապետն Յովհաննէս, և զվեց ժամ  
 աւուրն ոչինչ համարձակեցան խաւսել և հարցանել վասն ահաւոր նշանին, և լային  
 առ հասարակ ամենայն եկեալքն առ նա:

Յայնժամ իբրև ետես վարդապետն Հայոց զողբումն ամենայն եկելոցն, բացեալ  
 զբերանն իւր սկսաւ խաւսել հառաչանաւք և բազում արտասուաւք, և սկսաւ

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29 յահագին] D F H I J K L O V W X Y Z ահագին

29 տրամութեանս,] Jer տրամութեան; A B D H I J K L O W X Z տրամութիւնս

29 զարտասուսն] H L զարտասութն; K զարտասուս

29 զկուրծս] A B H Jer K L զկուրծան

29 իւր.] K *om.*

30 և յայնժամ] K Այլ

30 վարդապետն] D F H I J Jer O V W X Y Z վարդապետին

30 Յովհաննէս,] Jer V Յովհաննէս, մեծի; Y Յովհաննիսի մեծի

30 և] F X և զմեծ և

30 զվեց] Y վեց

30 ժամ] X ժամաւն; A ժամու

31 աւուրն] X աւրն

31 ահաւոր] H յահաւոր

31 նշանին,] I իշխանին

31 լային] X կային

32 եկեալքն] D H I J L W Z եկեալն

33 իբրև ետես] F X ետես իբրև

33 Հայոց զողբումն] X զողբումն Հայոց

33 եկելոցն,] F X եկեղեցոյն

34 զբերանն] Jer X զբերան

34 արտասուաւք,] W արտասուք

34 սկսաւ] H L սկսան

35 լալ զամենայն ազգս հաւատացելոցն, լայր և զկարգ քահանայական, և զեղծումն սրբութեան սրբոյ խորհրդոյն, լայր և զեկեղեցի Աստուծոյ և զքակտումն պատուիրանացն որ ի նմա ծածկեալ կան աստուածեղէնքն:

Եւ սկսաւ այսպէս ասել ցիշխանսն Հայոց. «Ո՛վ փառաւոր որդիք իմ, լուարութ զբանս զայս ի վիրաւոր և ի վշտագնեալ Յովհաննիսէ. զի ահա այսաւր լցան

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35 ազգս ] F ազգա; X ազգ

35 հաւատացելոցն, ] O հաւատաց; A B F Jer K V X Y հաւատացելոց

35 լայր ] B I J W Z լալ

35 քահանայական, ] H L քահանայութեան; I J W Z քահանայականութեան; D քահանայինութեան

36 սրբութեան ] X սրբութեանց

36 սրբոյ ] L սրբոյ երրորդութեան; F Jer Y V սրբոց

36 և ] Z և և

36 զեկեղեցի ] H L զեկեղեցիս; B եկեղեցի

36–37 պատուիրանացն ] F X K V Jer պատուիրանաց; H L պատուիրանացն Աստուծոյ; A B պատուիրանին

37 ծածկեալ կան ] H L կան ծածկեալ; D կան ծածկեալ կան

37 աստուածեղէնքն: ] H L աստուածեղէնք

38 այսպէս ասել ] X զսոսա ասել ցնա; H K L ասել այսպէս

38 ցիշխանսն ] D իշխանսն; B ցիշխանցն; K ցիշխանացն

39 զբանս ] H L զբանս իմ

39 զայս ] Y այս

39 ի ] L om.

39 Յովհաննիսէ. ] X յովանիսի; L յաւհանէս

39 այսաւր լցան ] F X լցան այսաւր; D J O W Z այսաւր լցաւ; H L ալ ուր լցաւ

40 Ըստ զարգացող խաչելութեանն Քրիստոսի, և արձակմանն անաւրէն  
Բելիարայ, զոր կապեալ էր զնա փրկիչն ի Յորդանան գետ, զոր յառաջին նշանէն  
ցուցաւ մեզ յառաջ քան զչորեքտասան ամի, զորս ասացաք. և այժմ դարձեալ

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40 ամ ] H L ամի

40 զարգացող ] A D H I J L W X Z զարգացողն

40 խաչելութեանն Քրիստոսի, ] A Քրիստոսի խաչելութեանն; B խաչելութեանն; D ի խաչելու-  
թեանն Քրիստոսի; H L Քրիստոսի ի խաչելութիւնն; Z խաչելութեան Քրիստոսի

40 և ] H L և ի

40 արձակմանն ] H L յարձակմանն; B K արձակման

40 անաւրէն ] H Y անաւրէնն; A om.

41 զոր ] I որ

41 կապեալ ] H L կապեաց

41 էր ] B om.

41 էր զնա ] H L om.

41 զնա ] Y զնա ի

41 ի ] H I J L O W Z om.

41 Յորդանան ] Y Յորդանան

41 գետ, ] D H L գետն

41 յառաջին ] V Y յառաջ; F K X առաջին

41 նշանէն ] H նշանին

42 յառաջ ] K որ նախ

42 զչորեքտասան ] A զվեց; K զայս չորեքտասան; B D F I J Jer O V W Y Z չորեքտասան

42 ամի, ] K ամաւ

42 զորս ] A B D H I J Jer L O W Y Z զոր; F V X om.

42 ասացաք. ] F V X զասացաք

42 այժմ ] F X այժմ; A յայնժամ

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42 զչորեքտասան ] A has replaced զչորեքտասան with զվեց in the text, presumably in an attempt to link this prophecy with the first.

երկրորդեաց, զի նախ երկինք պատահեցաւ, և երկիրս մթացաւ. և ահա յայսմ ամի  
 լուսաւորքդ խաւարեցան և արարածք ահաբեկեցան. վասն զի յայսմ հետէ ամենայն  
 45 ազգք հաւատացելոց Քրիստոսի ի խաւարի շրջելոց են, զի այսուհետև խաւարին

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43 երկրորդեաց, ] H L երկրորդեցից; D W Z երկրորդից

43 երկինք ] W երկինք էք; H L *om.*

43 և ] L *om.*

43 երկիրս ] X երկիր

43 յայսմ ] D I J O W Y Z այսմ

44 լուսաւորքդ ] L լուսաւորդ; K լուսաւորք

44 խաւարեցան ] B D I J O W Z խաւարեցաւ

44 և ] A և ամենայն; X և ասէ

44 արարածք ] D F I J O V W Y Z արարածս; B Jer արարած; X արարածքս

44 ահաբեկեցան. ] A B D F I J Jer O V W X Y Z *om.*; H L ևս

45 ազգք ] B D H J K L V W Z ազգ

45 հաւատացելոց ] I հաւատելոց; A հաւատացելոցն

45 Քրիստոսի ] D H I J L O W Z *om.*

45 խաւարի ] A I Y B խաւար; O խաւար ի

45 շրջելոց են, ] H L շրջեցին

45 այսուհետև ] X այսուհետև և

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44 ահաբեկեցան. ] This reading comes from K and is almost certainly an emendation, but it is clear that some word is missing here, and the reading of HL is of no assistance.

կարգք սուրբ եկեղեցւոյ Քրիստոսի յամենայն ազգաց հաւատացելոց. թուլանան ի պահոց և յաղաթից, պակասին յոյս հանդերձելոցն, երկիւղ դատաստանին Աստուծոյ արհամարհի, բառնայ ճշմարիտ հաւատք յամենայն ազգաց, տկարանայ աստուածպաշտութիւնն, ատեն զպատուիրանն Աստուծոյ, դիմադարձ լինին բանից

50 սուրբ աւետարանին Քրիստոսի. ամենայն ոք հակառակ գտանին սրբոց պա-

46 կարգք] B D H I J K L W X Z կարգ

46 սուրբ] A om.

46 եկեղեցւոյ] H K L եկեղեցւոյն

46 յամենայն] H Jer K L V Y Z ամենայն

46 ազգաց] W ազգ

46 թուլանան] X թուլանան ի հաւատոց

46 ի] L om.

47 պահոց] L աղաթից

47 և] J W և ի; B om.

47 յաղաթից,] B V Y աղաթից; L պահոց

47 յոյս] L յոյս հաւատացելոցն և ի

47 հանդերձելոցն,] F X հանդերձելոյն; A հանդերձելոցն, և

47 երկիւղ] H L յերկիւղ

48 բառնայ] K բառնի; H L բառնան; X բառնու

48 հաւատք] K հաւատն

48 յամենայն ազգաց,] K om.; X յամենայն ազգաց հաւատացելոց; L V Y Z ամենայն ազգաց

48-49 աստուածպաշտութիւնն,] B H Jer L V Y Z աստուածպաշտութիւն

49 Աստուծոյ,] H յԱստուծոյ

49 բանից] K բանին Աստուծոյ որ ի; D H I J L O W Z om.; V Y բանին Աստուծոյ

50 Քրիստոսի. ] W Քրիստոսի և; K V Y om.

50 հակառակ] Y հակառակք

50 սրբոց] D I J L W Z սուրբ

50-51 պատուիրանացն] H I J L պատուիրանին; F Jer K V Y պատուիրանաց

տուիրանացն Աստուծոյ, արհամարհեն զբանս սուրբ վարդապետացն, անգոսնեն  
և զհրամանս կանոնաց սրբոց հայրապետացն. և այնու բազումք անկանին ի  
բարձրութենէ հաւատոց և ատեն զդրունս սուրբ եկեղեցւոյ, և ի ծուլութենէ պահոցն  
և աղաւթիցն կուրանան յաստուածպաշտութեանցն. բազումք մտանեն ընդ լծով

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51 արհամարհեն] B արհամարհ

51 վարդապետացն,] Jer K V Y վարդապետաց

51 անգոսնեն] B և կոսնեն

52 զհրամանս] D I J Z հրամանս; W հրամանսն

52 կանոնաց սրբոց] D I J կանոնացն սուրբ; O սուրբ կանոնաց սրբոց; L կանոնացն սուրբ; W  
Z կանոնաց սուրբ; H կանոնացն սրբոց

52 և] X om.

52 այնու] X անկանի

52 բազումք] X բազում

52 անկանին] Z քանկանին; X om.

53 բարձրութենէ] D H I J L W Z բարձրութեան

53 հաւատոց] K հաւատոցն

53 ատեն] I J ատին

53 զդրունս] X դրունս

53 եկեղեցւոյ,] H յեկեղեցւոյ

53 և] K om.

53 ծուլութենէ] K ծուլութենէ մանաւանդ

53 պահոցն] Jer K Y պահոց

54 աղաւթիցն] K աղաւթից ծուլանան; A O J W B Z H D I յաղաւթիցն

54 կուրանան] K կուրանայ

54 յաստուածպաշտութեանցն.] K աստուածպաշտութիւնն; D F L V X Y Z աստուածպաշտութեանցն

54 բազումք] K բազում

54 լծով] K լծոյ; Jer V Y լծովն

- 55 անիծից, վասն զի ոչ հաւանին խրատու աստուածեղէն բանիցն սուրբ առաջնորդացն. որդիք անիծանին ի ծնողաց իւրեանց առ ի ոչ հնազանդութենէ զաւակաց, ծնողքն չարչարին ի ծննդոց իւրեանց, ցամաքեսցի գութ սիրոյ բարեկամաց ի հարց և ի զաւակաց: Եւ ահա յայսմհետէ բազում հերձուածք մտանեն յեկեղեցի Աստուծոյ ի ծուլութենէ հայրապետացն, վասն զի թուլամորթին և տկարանան և

55 անիծից,] F H L X Y անիծիցն

55 հաւանին] G հաւատային

55 խրատու] H L om.

55 աստուածեղէն] X աստուածային

55 բանիցն] H L om.

55-56 առաջնորդացն.] Z յառաջնորդացն; K առաջնորդաց

56 ծնողաց] J O Z ծնողացն

56 իւրեանց] I իւրոց

56 առ ի] F X Z յառի

56 հնազանդութենէ] B հնազանդութեան

56 զաւակաց,] H L X զաւակացն

57 չարչարին] F V X Y չարչարեն

58 ահա] Y om.

58 ահա յայսմհետէ] K om.

58 բազում] K Y բազումք

58 հերձուածք] F հերձուածն; X հերձուած

58 մտանեն] X մտանեն ի

58 յեկեղեցի] F K V եկեղեցի; H L յեկեղեցի սուրբ

59 Աստուծոյ] Z J W D C I Աստուծոյ սուրբ

59 ծուլութենէ] F ծուլութենէն; X ծուլութենէ են

59 հայրապետացն,] B D F I J Jer K V W X Y Z հայրապետաց

59 և] H L և յանարի

59 տկարանան] O տկարան

60 հաւատոյ քննութիւն ոչ առնեն և կան յիմարեալք: Յաղագս արծաթոյն թողուն  
 ի բաց զհաւատն, և պակասին աւրհներգութիւնք ի տանէն Աստուծոյ. երկիւղ և  
 ահ սոսկալի դատաստանին Աստուծոյ յաւուրն ահաւորի որ լինելոց է փարատեալ  
 խափանին յամենայն մտաց. մոռանան զհատուցումն արդարոցն և մեղաւորացն,  
 վասն զի մեղսասէրք և ցանկացողք լինելոց են չար ճանապարհին. փափագանաւք

60 քննութիւն] I J X քննութիւնս

60 ոչ առնեն] X չառնեն

60 կան] X om.

60 յիմարեալք:] X յիմարեալք: կան

60 արծաթոյն] K X արծաթոյ

60 թողուն] B om.

61 ի բաց] X զբաց ի

61 զհաւատն,] X հաւատսն; W զհաւատսն

61 աւրհներգութիւնք] H յաւրհներգութիւնք; B աւրհներգութիւն

61 Աստուծոյ.] H L յԱստուծոյ

61 երկիւղ] A B V երկիւղն

61 և] X om.

62 ահ] D ահա

62 յաւուրն] K աւուրն

62 ահաւորի] H L յահաւորի

62 լինելոց] A B F I O V X լինելոցն

63 յամենայն] K V Y ամենայն

63 զհատուցումն] H L զհատուցումն գործոց

63 արդարոցն] D F H I J Jer K L O V W Y Z արդարոց

63 մեղաւորացն,] H K L V մեղաւորաց

64 ցանկացողք] O Z ցանկացող

64 են] H L om.

64 չար] H L զչար



65 երթան ի մեղաց ժողովարանն, զի ահա ի թագաւորաց և յիշխանաց և յառաջնորդաց՝  
 ապականելոց է երկիր: Առաջնորդք և իշխանք լինելոց են կաշառասէրք և ստա-  
 խաւսք և սուտերդմունք, և ի ձեռս կաշառացն թիւրեն զդատաստանս իրաւանց  
 աղքատին. և յաղագս այսորիկ առաւել բարկանայ Աստուած ի վերայ նոցա, զի  
 զառաջնորդութիւնն և զիշխանութիւնն ընդ երեսաց վարեն, և ոչ ըստ Աստուծոյ:  
 70 Եւ տիրեալ իշխանաբար ի վերայ վիճակին, և ոչ ահիւն Աստուծոյ հովուել և  
 ուսուցանել, որպէս պատուիրեաց սուրբ առաքեալն Պաւլոս: Իշխանք և դատա-

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65 ժողովարանն, ] X ժողովարան

65 յիշխանաց ] B F K V X Y Z իշխանաց

65 յառաջնորդաց ] F K L V X Y առաջնորդաց

66 է ] F X om.

66 երկիր: ] H I J L W Z յերկիր

66 Առաջնորդք ] Z առաջնորդք; A B առաջնորդքն; F յառաջնորդքն

66 իշխանք ] A իշխանքն; I J O W Z իշխան; F յիշխանք

67 զդատաստանս ] X դատաստանս

67 իրաւանց ] B իւրեանց; A O իրաւանցն

68 այսորիկ ] O յայսորիկ

68 Աստուած ի վերայ նոցա, ] B ի վերայ նոցա Աստուած

69 զառաջնորդութիւնն ] L յառաջնորդութիւն; K առաջնորդութիւնն; W X Z զառաջնորդութիւն

69 զիշխանութիւնն ] Z զիշխանութիւն; K իշխանութիւնն

69 ընդ ] K ըստ

69 երեսաց ] H L յերեսաց

69 վարեն, ] L X վարին

70 ահիւն ] D H I J L ահիւ

70 Աստուծոյ ] D H I J L նոցա

70 հովուել ] B D F I J O V W Y Z հովել

70 և ] K և ոչ

ւորք պոռնկասէրք առաւել քան աստուածասէրք, և ատեցողք լինին սուրբ ամուս-  
նութեանն, և փակին ընդ պոռնկութեամբ ախտին, և սիրեն զկորուստ նմանեաց  
իւրեանց. մեծարեն զմատնիչսն և զգողսն, յափշտակեն անիրաւաբար զաշխա-  
տողացն զինչսն, անողորմ ի վերայ ուղիղ դատաստանացն: Որդեակք իմ, ահա  
75 յայսմհետէ ի հակառակութենէ առաջնորդաց փակելոց են դրունք սուրբ եկեղեցւոյ,

72 աստուածասէրք, ] F X զաստուածասէրք

72 լինին ] B լինի

72-73 ամուսնութեանն, ] V Y ամուսնութենէ; Jer K Z ամուսնութեան; F X ամուսնութենէն

73 պոռնկութեամբ ] A H K L պոռնկութեան

73 զկորուստ ] X զկորուստն

73 նմանեաց ] X մատնեաց

74 իւրեանց. ] Y նոցին

74 զմատնիչսն ] D H I J L W Z զնմանիչսն

74 և ] K om.

74 զգողսն, ] F Jer V X Y զգողս

74-75 զաշխատողացն ] X զաշխատողացս; K զաշխարհաց; H Jer V Y զաշխատողաց

75 զինչսն, ] B D F I J Jer O V W X Z ինչսն

75 անողորմ ] K անողորմ լինին

75 ուղիղ ] A ուղղել; X om.

75 դատաստանացն: ] Jer K V Y դատաստանաց

75 Որդեակք ] B I J W Z Որդեակ

76 առաջնորդաց ] F առաջնորդեաց

76 դրունք ] W դրունքն

76 սուրբ ] W սրբոյ

և վերանան սրբութեան կարգք յամենայն ազգէ, և յաղագս արծաթսիրութեան տան ձեռնադրութիւն բազում անարժանից, և զամենայն պղծեալսն ածեն ի կարգ քահանայութեան: Եւ յայնժամ պատարագի Քրիստոս ի ձեռն անարժան քահանայից, և բազումք անարժանութեամբ հաղորդին ի նմանէ, ոչ եթէ ի փրկութիւն այլ ի դատապարտութիւն և ի կորուստ հոգւոյն. և ուր ուրեք կայ հշմարիտ պատարագող Քրիստոսի սուրբ խորհրդոյն յազգս ազգս, որ ի ձեռս նոցա ողորմի Աստուած աշխարհի:

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77 վերանան] K X վերանայ

77 սրբութեան] B սրբութեամբ

77 կարգք] Y կարգքն; D H I J L W կարգ; F Jer V X կարգն

77 յամենայն] I V Y Z ամենայն; K աշխարհէս

77 ազգէ,] F X յազգէ; K հայոց

77 արծաթսիրութեան] K արծաթսիրութեանն

78 պղծեալսն] B D H I L W Z պղծեալս; Jer K V X Y պղծեալք

78 ածեն] O աստուածեն

78 կարգ] X կարգաւորութիւն; F O կարգք

79 քահանայութեան:] F քահանայութեանն; X om.

79–80 քահանայից,] A B F Jer V X Y քահանայիցն

81 հոգւոյն.] K հոգւոց

81 ուր] Jer K V Y om.

81 կայ] K ուրեք կայցէ; H L եղիցի; I J եղեցի; D O W Z om.

81 պատարագող] I J պատարագաւղք

82 յազգս ազգս,] A յաղագս ազգիս; H L յաղագս; D յաղագս յաղագս

82 ձեռս] B D F H I J Jer L O V W X Y Z ձեռաց; A ձեռն

82 Աստուած] H L Աստուած ի վերայ

83 աշխարհի:] D H J W Z յաշխարհի; I յաշխարհէի

Որդեակք, զսուրբսն և զառաքինիսն վիրաւորեն, և զանարատն դարձուցանեն  
 85 ի քահանայութենէ առ ի չունելոյ արծաթ, ոչ տան զձեռնադրութիւն. և որպէս  
 ասացաք յառաջ քան զչորեքտասան ամի ի լինելոյ միւսումն նշանին, եթէ պակասին  
 բազումք ի հաւատոց աստուածպաշտութեանց, վասն զի բազումք ի քահանայից

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84 Որդեակք,] O J W Z D I Որդեակ; H L Որդեակք, իմ; B Որդեակք, և

84 զսուրբսն] D H I J L W Z զսուրբն; F X զսուրբքն; O զսուրբ

84 զառաքինիսն] D H I J L O W Z զառաքինին

84 վիրաւորեն,] D I վիրաւորին

85 չունելոյ] K չառնելոյ

85 արծաթ,] H J I L արծաթս; K զարծաթ և

85 տան] W տան ի

85 զձեռնադրութիւն. ] B D F H I J Jer L O X զձեռնադրութիւնն; W ձեռնադրութիւնն; Y զձեռնադրութիւնն

86 քան] D I J O W Z om.

86 ի] K V X Y om.

86 ի լինելոյ] B om.

86 միւսումն] K միւս

87 բազումք] H L om.

87 հաւատոց] L հաւատոյ; X հաւատոցն

87 աստուածպաշտութեանց,] D աստուածպաշտութենէ

87 զի] D I J O W Z om.

87 ի] X om.

87 քահանայից] K քահանայիցն

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86 զչորեքտասան] On line 42 above, A has corrected ‘fourteen’ to ‘six’, but has failed to do so here.

և ի կրանաւորաց՝ թուլամորթին ի կրանից իւրեանց. լինելոց են ցանկասէրք  
 ախտից, փափագողք, որոճալով որոճեն զերգս դիւական. կրանաւորքն փախչին  
 90 յանապատէն և ատեն զսուրբ երամս ճգնաւորացն, և զվարս առաջին կրանա-  
 ւորացն ատեալ անարգեն. լինիցին խանգարիչք կարգաց և կրանից. փախչին  
 ի ձայնէ սաղմոսերգութեանցն Աստուծոյ: Այս ամենայն լինելոց է, որդեակք իմ,  
 յազգս այս յղիանան առաջնորդք աշխարհի արծաթսիրութեամբ, և զամենայն

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88 ի] K X om.

88 կրանաւորաց՝ ] F կրանաւորացն

88 թուլամորթին ի կրանից ] X om.

88 լինելոց ] F շինելոց

89 փափագողք, որոճալով ... դիւական.] W om.

89 դիւական.] H L դիւականս

89 կրանաւորքն ] X կրանից; D H I J Jer L W կրանաւորք

90 յանապատէն ] X յանապատին

90 ատեն ] W ատ

90 զվարս ] X վարս

90 առաջին ] H L յառաջին

90–91 կրանաւորացն ] K կրանաւորաց

91 ատեալ ] B ատել; H L om.

91 անարգեն.] J I անարգեն. և; K անարգին; H L անարգեալ ատեն և

91 լինիցին ] D H I J L O W Z լինին

91 խանգարիչք ] K խանգարիչ

92 ի ձայնէ ] K om.

92 սաղմոսերգութեանցն ] H K L սաղմոսերգութեանց

92 որդեակք ] D I J W Z որդեակ

93 յազգս ] C D E F G H I J Jer L V X Y Z յաղագս

93 այս ] X om.

93 աշխարհի ] X յաշխարհի; K Քրիստոսի

անկեալս և զորոշեալս ի շնորհաց որդւոյն Աստուծոյ յառաջ կոչեն և ածեն զնոսա ի  
 95 կարգս քահանայական, և զամենայն մերժեալսն՝ գլուխ և առաջնորդ կացուցանեն  
 ի վերայ ժողովրդեանն Աստուծոյ. և ոչ գիտեն զինչ գործեն, վասն զի կուրանան  
 ի սաստկութենէ արծաթսիրութեանն: Եւ առաւել ունիմ ասել զայս, զի ահա յայսմ-  
 Լեւտէ մեծաւ խոցմամբ վիրաւորելոց է Քրիստոս յանարժան քահանայից, քան  
 զխաչիլն և զչարչարիլն ի Լրէիցն, զի պակասն ի նոցանէ վճարելոց է ի սոցանէ.

94 զորոշեալս ] H L յորոշեալս

94 որդւոյն ] H L յորդւոյն

94 զնոսա ] W զնա

95 կարգս ] F կարգք; B D H I J Jer K L V W Y կարգ

95 քահանայական, ] O քահանայկանութեան; D H I J L W Y Z քահանայութեան

95 զամենայն ] W ամենայն

95 առաջնորդ ] Z յառաջնորդ

97 սաստկութենէ ] Y արծաթսիրութենէ

97 արծաթսիրութեանն: ] X Z արծաթսիրութեան

97 ասել զայս, ] Jer K V Y զայս ասել

98 յանարժան ] D անարժան; H L յանարժան պատարագչաց

98 քահանայից, ] A քահանայիցն

98 քան ] F H I J L X քանզի

99 զխաչիլն ] L խաչեալն; V X Y զխաչելն; I J խաչելն; B D F H O W Z զխաչեալն

99 զչարչարիլն ] B D H I J L O W Z զչարչարեալն; F V Y զչարչարելն

99 Լրէիցն, ] A F V X Y Լրէից

99 զի ] H L om.

99 պակասն ] H L զպակասն

99 վճարելոց ] B վարժելոց

99 ի սոցանէ. ] F Jer K V X Y om.

100 և լսելոց է եթէ «Ընկեր, վասն որո՞յ մտեր յայս հարսանիսս:»\* Յայնժամ կապեալ  
 ոտիւք և կապեալ ձեռաւք հանեն զնա ի խաւարն արտաքին, և զոր ժողովեացն  
 կուտի կորստեամբ ի վերայ նորա:

Որդեակք իմ, ահա այս ամենայն լինելոց է ի յետին ժամանակս, զի արձակեցաւ  
 Սատանայ ի հազար ամէ կապանացն զոր կապեաց Քրիստոս խաչիւն իւրով. և  
 105 յայսմհետէ երևեսցին ճշմարիտ հաւատացեալքն Քրիստոսի՝ կալով ընդդէմ նորա

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100 է] H L է որ ասէ

100 վասն որո՞յ] K ընդէ՞ր; I վասն; F վասն որդոյ

100 մտեր] D O W մտել

100 յայս] D I J O V W Y Z այս; H L այսր

100 հարսանիսս:»] Y I հարսանիս; K *om.*; H L որ ոչ ունէիր հանդերձ հարսանեաց և ասլն

100 \*] X *intermittit*

100 կապեալ] O կապել

101 կապեալ] J O W կապել

101 զոր] L *om.*

101 ժողովեացն] W ժողովեաց; B K ժողովեցան

102 կուտի] H L կուտէ

102 նորա: ] F նոցա

103 Որդեակք] L Յորդեակք; W Որդեակ

103 այս] F յայս

103 ի] D H I J L O W Z *om.*

103 ժամանակս,] F Jer K V Y ժամանակն

104 Սատանայ] F սատանայի; B աստ

104 ի] F K *om.*

104 ամէ] F O յամէ; K ամեա

105 յայսմհետէ] Jer K V Y *om.*

105 հաւատացեալքն] I հաւատացեալսն; J հաւատացեալն

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100 հարսանիսս:»] HL has restored the original verse in full. C.f. Matthew 22:11–14.

ի պատերազմ, զի ունի պատերազմել ընդ սուրբսն՝ որք պատուիրանաւն Աստուծոյ պահպանեալ կան ի կարգս հշմարիտ խոստովանութեանն Քրիստոսի Աստուծոյ մերոյ, որք կան յազգս ազգս: Այսուհետեւ լինին յարձակմունք ալլազգեաց՝ անիծեալ որդւոցն Քամայ, պիղծ զաւրքն Թուրքաց, ի վերայ ազգաց քրիստոնէից, և ի սուր սուսերի մաշի ամենայն երկիր. սովով և գերութեամբ անցանէ ամենայն

106 պատերազմ, ] F Jer V պատերազմն

106 ունի ] Y V ունի ի

106 պատերազմել ] C H L պատերազմիլ

106 սուրբսն ] H I J L սուրբն

106 որք ] K om.

107 պահպանեալ ] W պահեալ

107 խոստովանութեանն ] K խոստովանութեամբ; B D F H I J Jer L O V W Y Z խոստովանութեան

108 մերոյ, ] J W H Z C D I L մերոյ, այս էր պատեհոն որ խաւարեցաւ արեգակն:

108 յազգս ազգս: ] D յաղագս ազգս; H ազգս յաղագս

108 յարձակմունք ] I արձակմունս; D J K O Z արձակմունք

108 ալլազգեաց ] Y V ալլազգեացք; A ալլազգեաց՝ պիղծ զաւրքն Թուրքաց

109 անիծեալ ] Jer W om.

109 որդւոցն ] H L յորդւոցն

109 պիղծ ] Jer W om.

109 պիղծ զաւրքն Թուրքաց, ] A om.

109 զաւրքն ] Y զաւրք; K զաւրացն

109 ազգաց ] W ազգացն

110 մաշի ] F V մաշեց; Jer K Y մաշեացեն

110 ամենայն ] Jer K զամենայն

110 երկիր. ] H յերկիր

110 սովով ] Y սով

110 գերութեամբ ] I J գերութեամբք



ազգ հաւատացելոցն Քրիստոսի. յանմարդ դառնան բազում գաւառք. բառնալոց է զաւրութիւնք սրբոց յերկրէ. քակտին բազում եկեղեցիք ի հիմանց. խափանեացի խորհուրդ խաչին Քրիստոսի. ի բազմանալ անաւրէնութեանցն խափանին տաւնախմբութիւնք սրբոցն: Գրգռին որդիք ընդ հարս, ատեցողք լինին հարք առ որդիս, յարիցեն եղբարք ի վերայ միմեանց, սպանութեամբ և արեան հեղութեամբ ջանան կորուսանել զիրեարս: Ուրանան զգութ և զսէր եղբայրութեանն, ցամա-

111 հաւատացելոցն] B D H I J Jer K L V W Y Z հաւատացելոց

111 յանմարդ] K անմարդ

111 բազում] K բազումք

111 գաւառք.] L գաւառաւք

112 զաւրութիւնք սրբոց] O զաւրութիւն սրբոց; C D H J զաւրութիւն սրբոցն; W Z զաւրութիւն սրբոցն; L սրբոցն զաւրութիւն; I զաւրութիւն սրբոցն

112 քակտին] K քակին

112 բազում] B K բազումք

112–113 խափանեացի] D խափանեացի ի; F K Y B V H Jer L խափանեացին

113 խորհուրդ] K V Y խորհուրդք

113 ի] B ի ի

113 անաւրէնութեանցն] F K V Y անաւրէնութեանց; Jer անաւրէնութեան

114 սրբոցն:] D H I J L O W Z սրբոց

114 որդիք] H L om.

114 հարս,] H L հարս, յորդիք; A B հարցն

114 լինին] B լին

115 որդիս,] H L յորդիս

115 արեան] H L արին; O յարեան

116 զգութ] B զգայութիւն

116 զսէր] K սէր

116 եղբայրութեանն,] E G Jer V Y եղբայրսիրութեանն; F K եղբայրսիրութեան; L Z եղբայրութեան

116–117 ցամաքեացի արին եղբայրութեան] F om.

քեսցի արիւն եղբայրութեան նոցա, և այսպիսի գործովք հաւասարակից լինին անաւրինացն. և յազգաց անաւրինաց ծփի երկիր, և ցաւդ արեան զգենուն բոյսք անդաստանաց, և զամս վաթսուն սրով և գերութեամբ աւերելոց է երկիր:

120 Եւ յայնժամ ելցեն ազգն արիականքն որք են Ֆռանգ, և բազմութեամբ զաւրաւք առցեն զսուրբ քաղաքն Երուսաղէմ, և ազատի ի ծառայութենէ սուրբ գերեզմանն

117 այսպիսի] K այնպիսի

118 անաւրինացն.] H ցանաւրինացն; L յանաւրինացն

118 անաւրինացն. և յազգաց] K om.

118 յազգաց] F V Y ազգաց; J յազգացան

118 անաւրինաց] F Jer V Y անաւրինացն

118 երկիր,] H L յերկիր

119 անդաստանաց,] H L յանդաստանաց

119 վաթսուն] K բազումս

119 է] F V Y էր

119 երկիր:] K զերկիր; H L յերկիր

120 եւ] F om.

120 ազգն] H ազգք; K արիական; I J L ազգ; O Y ազգքն

120 արիականքն] K ազգքն; A Jer արիականք

120 որք] D F H I J Jer L O V W Y Z որ

120 Ֆռանգ,] H L Ֆռանգք

120 և] K om.

120 բազմութեամբ] W զբազմութեամբ

120 զաւրաւք] K զաւրաց և

121 առցեն] J I առցեն զերուսաղէմ; H L անցանեն զերուսաղէմ

121 զսուրբ] H I J L սուրբ; D om.

121 քաղաքն] D զքաղաքն

121 Երուսաղէմ,] D F Z յերուսաղէմ; H I J L om.

121 ծառայութենէ] A գերութենէն

121 գերեզմանն] L գերեզմանին; Jer Գերեզման

աստուածընկալ:

Եւ զկնի այսորիկ զամս յիսուն տագնապի երկիր սրով և գերութեամբ ի զաւրացն  
Պարսից, և ևթնապատիկ առաւել քան զորս յառաջ կրեցին հաւատացեալքն, և  
125 ահաբեկին ամենայն ազգք հաւատացելոց Քրիստոսի. և ի բազմութենէ նեղութե-  
անցն յուսահատին զաւրք Հռոմայեցւոց. բազում անցումն և կոտորած կրեն յազգէն

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122 աստուածընկալ: ] H L յաստուածընկալ; K Քրիստոսի

123 զամս յիսուն ] H K L *om.*

123 երկիր ] H L երկիր զամս յիսուն; A երկիր ի զաւրացն պարսկաց

123 ի զաւրացն պարսից, ] A *om.*

124 պարսից, և ] L *om.*

124 ևթնապատիկ ] K զևթնապատիկ

124 առաւել ] B *om.*

124 զորս ] K զաւրսն; F զաւրք

124 յառաջ ] Y առաջն; C D E F G H I J Jer L O V W Z յառաջն

124 կրեցին ] W կրեցի

124 հաւատացեալքն, ] A F I J Jer K L O V W Y Z հաւատացեալք

125 ահաբեկին ] H L ահա բնակին

125 ազգք ] B D H I J L W Z ազգ

125 հաւատացելոց ] D հաւատացելոց ի

125 ի ] I J *om.*

125 բազմութենէ ] F Y բազմութենէն

125–126 նեղութեանցն ] H նեղութենէնցն; K նեղութեանց

126 զաւրք ] H L զաւրքն

126 Հռոմայեցւոց. ] C D H L հռոմոց

126 անցումն ] F անցումն

126 և ] F V Y *om.*

126 կրեն ] H A O կրեն ի

126 յազգէն ] F V Y ազգէն

Պարսից, և ընտիր ընտիրս ի քաջ զաւրականացն խողխողեն սրով և գերութեամբ,  
մինչև ի փրկութենէ յուսահատին զաւրքն Հռոմայեցւոց: Եւ զկնի յիսուն ամացն  
սկիզբն առնուն ի զաւրանալ առ սակաւ սակաւ. և ուր ուրեք լինի մնացեալ յառաջին  
130 գնդէն, և ամ յամէ յառաջ գան և հաստատին իբրև տեղապահ գոլով աշխարհաց և  
գաւառաց:

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127 և ] Օ և և

127 ընտիր ] H L յընտիր

127 ընտիրս ] F H K L ընտիր

127 ի ] K om.

128 փրկութենէ ] D փրկութենէն; O W H L փրկութենէն և; Z փրկութեան և; J I փրկութենէ և

128 զաւրքն ] K զաւրք

128 յիսուն ամացն ] A B ամացն; K այսորիկ

129 առ ] B om.

129 ուր ] K ուրեք

129 լինի ] K լինին

129 մնացեալ ] K մնացեալք

129 յառաջին ] H L յառաջի; Z առաջին

130 գնդէն, ] J գնդին; D H L O W Z գնդին

130 և ] K om.

130 յառաջ ] Y յառաջք

130 գան ] F V քան

130 աշխարհաց ] D Z յաշխարհաց

135 Եւ յայնժամ որպէս ի քնոյ զարթուցեալ լինի թագաւորն Հռոմայեցւոց, և հա-  
սանէ որպէս զարծուի ի վերայ զաւրացն Պարսից անագին բազմութեամբ՝ որպէս  
զաւազ առ եզր ծովու: Ելցէ որպէս զհուր բորբոքեալ, և յահէ նորա դողան ամենայն  
արարածք, և Պարսիկք և ամենայն զաւրք ալլազգեացն արասցեն զփախուստ  
իւրեանց յայնկոյս մեծ գետոյն Ջահունից:

132 Եւ ] A B *om.*

132 թագաւորն ] Z թագաւոր

132 Հռոմայեցւոց, ] D E F G Jer V Y հռոմոց; I J հռոմայեցւոցն

132–133 հասանէ ] Y հասանէր

133 զարծուի ] A B D I J O W Z զարծիւ

133 անագին ] H L յանագին

133 որպէս ] F V *om.*

134 զաւազ ] F զաւազաւ

134 առ ] F *om.*

134 եզր ] K եզրն

134 յահէ ] F V Y ահէ

135 Պարսիկք ] D I J W Z պարսիկ

135 ամենայն ] J ամենայնն; K *om.*

135 ամենայն զաւրք ] H L *om.*

135 զաւրք ] D I J W Z զաւրքն

135 ալլազգեացն ] H L ալլազգեաց զաւրս

135 արասցեն ] K *om.*; H Y L արասցեն ի

135 զփախուստ ] B D I O Z զփախուստն; F H L W փախուստն; Jer V Y փախուստ

136 իւրեանց ] K առցեն

136 մեծ ] K *om.*

136 Ջահունից: ] D F I J O V W Y Z Ջանունից; C Ջահունեաց; A Ջահունեաց; B Ջանունեաց; H L  
Ջանունիցին

Եւ յայնժամ թագաւորն Հռոմայեցւոց տիրելով տիրէ ամենայն աշխարհի զամս  
բազումս, և նորոգումն առնու ամենայն երկիր, և շինութեան հիմն արկանի, և  
այնպէս նորանայ նա որպէս զկնի ջրհեղեղին. բազմանան ծնունդք մարդկան և  
140 անասնոց, բղխեսցեն աղբերք զգնացս ջրոց, պտղաբերին անդաստանք առաւել  
քան զառաջինն: Եւ այնուհետեւ անկանի սով ի աշխարհն Պարսից զբազում ամս,

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137 աշխարհի ] D յաշխարհի

137 զամս ] H L ամս

138 բազումս, ] K բազումք

138 և ] K om.

138 առնու ] D H I J L O W Y Z առնէ

138 ամենայն ] H L յամենայն

138 երկիր, ] I J W երկրի

138 շինութեան ] H զշինութեան

138 արկանի, ] B արկանէր; A արկանէ

139 նա ] A B F Jer K V Y om.

139 որպէս ] I J որ

139 ջրհեղեղին. ] Jer K Y V ջրհեղեղին. և

139 ծնունդք ] W ծնունդ

139 մարդկան ] K մարդոց

140 զգնացս ] I գնացս

141 քան զառաջինն: ] C D E F G H I J Jer L O V W Y Z քան զառաւել; K քան զառաջին; B om.

141 անկանի ] K սկսանի; F I L անկան ի

141 սով ] B D H I J Jer K L O V W Y Z սովն; F սիովնի

141 ի ] H L պարսից

141 աշխարհն ] A B D I J Jer O W Z յաշխարհն; Y յաշխարհն

141 Պարսից ] H L om.

141 զբազում ] K L բազում

մինչև յարձակեալ զմիմեանս ուտիցեն: Եւ յահէ զաւրութեան թագաւորին Հռոմայեցւոց բազում իշխանք Պարսից ելցեն ի քաղաքաց և ի գաւառաց իւրեանց, և առանց պատերազմի զփախուստ արասցեն յայնկոյս Ջահուն գետոյ. և զամենայն ժողովս մթերից իւրեանց զամաց բազմաց՝ զոսկւոյ և զարծաթոյ, և զամենայն բազմութիւն գանձուցն որպէս զհող կամ զքարակոյտս, այնչափ համարով առցեն

142 յարձակեալ] F արձակեալ

142 զմիմեանս] I միմեանս

142 եւ] Y om.

142 զաւրութեան] H L om.

142–143 Հռոմայեցւոց] W հռոմոց

143 բազում] K բազումք

144 զփախուստ] B D F H I J O W Z զփախուստն

144 յայնկոյս] O J W H Z D I L յայնկոյս ի

144 Ջահուն] K Ջահունայ

144 գետոյ.] Y գետոյն; I J գետոց; K om.

145 ժողովս] H L ժողովս ի

145 զամաց] W om.

145 զոսկւոյ] O զոսկոց

145 զարծաթոյ.] D H Jer K L Z արծաթոյ

145 զամենայն] F Jer K V Y ամենայն

146 բազմութիւն] B D F H I J K L O W Y Z բազմութիւնս

146 գանձուցն] K գանձուց

146 կամ] H L և

146 այնչափ] A H K L անչափ; O յանչափ

146 համարով] L համարելով; V համարէն; K և անքանակ; Y համարին

յաշխարհէն Պարսից, և բարձեալ տարցեն յաշխարհն Հոռմայեցւոց. և զամենայն մանկունս և զաղջկունս և զկանայս տարցեն ի գերութիւն յաշխարհն Հոռմայեցւոց. աւերակ և անմարդ լինելոց է տունն Պարսից ի զաւրացն Հոռմայեցւոց, և հաստատի  
 150 ամենայն իշխանութիւն երկրի ի ներքոյ ձեռին թագաւորին Հոռմայեցւոց:

\*Զայս այսպէս ասաց սուրբ վարդապետն Յովհաննէս, և արձակեալ յուղարկեաց զիշխանսն Հայոց խաղաղութեամբ, և գնացին յաշխարհն իւրեանց:

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- 147 յաշխարհէն] K V աշխարհէն  
 147 յաշխարհն] H L V Y աշխարհն  
 147 Հոռմայեցւոց.] W հոռմոց  
 148 զաղջկունս] H L յաղջկունս; B զաղջկունսն  
 148 զկանայս] B D I J O W Z զկանայսն  
 148 յաշխարհն] F K V Y աշխարհն  
 149 աւերակ] A B F Jer V Y աւերակս; D H I J L W Z om.  
 149 անմարդ] F Jer անմարդս  
 149 անմարդ լինելոց ... և] D H I J L W Z om.  
 150 իշխանութիւն] D I J իշխանութիւնն; H յիշխանութիւնն  
 150 երկրի] D H L յերկրի  
 150 ներքոյ] H L ներքս ի  
 150 ձեռին] H L ձեռն  
 150 Հոռմայեցւոց:] D հոռմոց  
 151 \*] X *resumit*  
 151 Զայս] B F L W X Յայս  
 151 այսպէս] Y սոյնպէս; K om.  
 151 արձակեալ] X արձակեաց  
 151 յուղարկեաց] H L յուղարկեալ  
 152 զիշխանսն] B զիշխանն; F Jer V X Y զիշխանս  
 152 գնացին] B գընացի  
 152 յաշխարհն] F K O V աշխարհն



## Author's prologue to Book Two of the Chronicle

Արդ ահա մինչև ցայս վայրս բազմաշան և աշխատաւոր քննութեամբ գտեալ  
գրեցաք զշարագրական գրեալս զհարիւրից ամաց, զորս ի բազում ժամանակաց  
հետաքննեալ հասու եղաք, ընդ այնքանեաց տեսողացն և լսողացն որք էին ի  
հին ամաց ծնեալք, և ընդ ընթերցողսն յառաջին պատմագրացն որք ականատեսք

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1 ահա ] Jer K V Y *om.*

1 ցայս ] B ցայց; Y *om.*

1 վայրս ] X վայր; Y ցվայրս; D I J W Z վարս

1 և ] O և և

2 գրեցաք ] K գրեցաք ի; F գըրեցչաք

2 զշարագրական ] K ժամանակական

2 գրեալս ] X գրեալսն

2 զհարիւրից ] H L զհարիւր; K X հարիւրից

2 ամաց, ] K ամացն

2 զորս ] W զոր

2 ի ] K *om.*

3 հետաքննեալ ] W հետա; F հետաքննեալ եալ

3 եղաք, ] F ելաք

3 ընդ ] C H L W ըստ

3 այնքանեաց ] D I J O W X Z այնքանեացս; H L այսքանեացս

3 էին ] X է

3 ի ] A B X *om.*

4 ծնեալք, ] I J ծնեալքն

4 ընդ ] K W *om.*

4 ընթերցողսն ] K ընթերցողք; X ընթերցաւդն

4 յառաջին ] B D I J K O W Z առաջին

4 պատմագրացն ] A B Jer պատմագրացս

- 5 էին լեալք ամենայն եղելոցս և նեղութեանցս այսոցիկ զոր վասն մեղաց կրեաց տունն Հայոց: Եւ ահա որ զայս բազում անգամ զմտաւ ածեալ եմ, վասն այս յետին ժամանակին գրել զդառնաշունչ կոտորածսն, զայս սոսկալի բարկութիւնս զոր կրեաց ազգս Հայոց ի գիսաւոր և ի պիղծ եղիմնացւոց ազգէն Թուրքաց,

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5 եղելոցս] K եղելոցն; Jer եղելոց

5 նեղութեանցս] F K X նեղութեանս

5 այսոցիկ] X այսոսիկ; H L W յայսոցիկ

5 զոր] X որ

5 կրեաց] F կրաւնեաց; D H I J L W X Z *om.*

6 տունն] D I J O W X Z տուն; H L տանն

6 եւ] K եւ է

6 ահա որ] F Jer X I Y V ահաւոր; K ահաւոր քան

6 զայս] K զայս դառնաշունչ կատարած

6 բազում անգամ ... այս] K *om.*

6 զմտաւ] B զմաւտ

6 եմ,) D F H I J L W X Z իմ

6 այս] D յայս

7 յետին] H I J L յետինս

7 ժամանակին] D F I J K O W X Z ժամանակիս; L ժամա; H ժամագրել

7 գրել] B գրեալ; Y գրել զդառնայ; H *om.*; K որ զմտաւ ունիմ գրել

7 զդառնաշունչ] Y շունչ; K և

7 կոտորածսն,) Z կսրածսն; W կսրածսն; A B D H I J Jer L O կատարածսն; V Y կսրածսն; K թողուլ

7 զայս] K իմացումն յապագայից եղբարց Պէսպէս

8 զոր] K զորս

8 ազգս] H L X զազգս

8 եղիմնացւոց ազգէն] W եղիմնացոց ազգին; H L եղիմնացւոց յազգէն; Jer ազգէն եղիմնացւոց

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7 կոտորածսն,) The ambiguously abbreviated readings for this word are retained in the apparatus here and below.

և յեղբարց իւրեանց Հոռոմոց. և վասն այսորիկ հարկ եղև ի մտաց խորհրդոյս  
 10 իմոյ, անդադար յուզմամբ իբրև զմեծ իմն համարելով, գտանել զայս գործս կատա-  
 րածի. և վասն այսորիկ ժողով արարի և գրեցի մինչև ցայս վայր զերիս ազգացս  
 և զհայրապետացս և զայլ պէսպէս քննութեանց զազգաց և զթագաւորաց զորս  
 յառաջ ասացաք, և որ զկնի դեռ ևս ասասցուք զսկիզբն կատարածիս, զոր ինչ

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9 և ] F Jer V X Y *om.*

9 յեղբարց ] A B D F H I J K L O V W X Z եղբարց

9 իւրեանց ] F իւր նոցա; X L իւրոց

9 և ] L *om.*

9 եղև ] Jer եղև և

10 իմոյ, ] F Jer K V X Y *om.*

10 անդադար ] V Y յանդադար

10 գտանել ] K տեսանել

10 գործս ] D գործ

10-11 կատարածի. ] V Y կտրիւծի; D I J W Z կտրիւծի

11 և վասն այսորիկ ] K *om.*

11 ժողով ] A B D F I J Jer O V W X Y Z զաւրաժողով; K հարցաժողով

11 զերիս ] K երիս; X զչորս

12 զազգաց ] X յազգաց; K ազգաց

12 զթագաւորաց ] W X թագաւորաց

13 յառաջ ] B I առաջ; H L յառաջն

13 և ] K որ

13 և որ ... ասասցուք ] H L *om.*

13 և որ ... ինչ եղև ] B *om.*

13 որ ] K և

13 դեռ ևս ] Jer թերևս

13 ասասցուք ] K ասելոցեմք

13 զսկիզբն ] Jer V Y սկիզբն

13 կատարածիս, ] W կտրիւս; Z կտծիս; D J Y կտրիւծիս; V կտրածիս; K զգործս և զբանս

եղև յաւուրս հարցն մերոց, որք էին տեսեալ բազում անգամ աշաւք իւրեանց. զոր  
 15 և իմ իսկ խորհեալ զխորհուրդս զայս, և զութ ամ անհանգիստ քննութեամբ կացի,  
 և զայս ամենայն յաւթարեցի ի տեսութիւն և ի մատենագրութիւն ածել գրով, վասն  
 զի մի՛ ի չարաշուռչ դառնութեան ժամանակս կորիցի այս ամենայն և մոռասցի:  
 Եւ վասն այսորիկ ես Մատթէոս Ուռհայեցի և վանական զաշխատութեան զգործ

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14 տեսեալ բազում անգամ] Jer K V Y բազում անգամ տեսեալ

14 իւրեանց.] F X իւր ետ նոցա

15 իմ] L յիմ

15 իսկ] H K L om.

15 զխորհուրդս] Jer K V Y խորհուրդս

15 զայս,] F Jer K V W X Y այս

15 զութ] D H I J K L V W Z ութ; Y ըստ ութ

15 քննութեամբ] A B om.

15 կացի,] W կարացի

16 յաւթարեցի] B F Z աւթարեցի; K յաւթարեցայ

16 ի] H I J L W om.

16 մատենագրութիւն] I J W իմաստենագրութիւն; L յիմաստագրութիւն; C H յիմաստագրութիւն

16 ածել] B ածեմ

17 դառնութեան] H L om.

17 ժամանակս] K ժամանակիս

17 կորիցի] B D F H I J Jer K L V W X Y Z կորիցէ

18 ես] B D F H I J Jer L O V W X Y Z om.

18 զաշխատութեան] H L զաշխատութեանս

18 զգործ] A Jer K V Y զգործս

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16 մատենագրութիւն] The variant reading իմաստ(ն)ագրութիւն is not an attested word, but իմաստագործութիւն is attested. The variants may be based on that.

իմ ոչինչ համարեցայ, այլ թողի զայս յիշատակ սիրողաց ժամանակագրութեանց,  
 20 զի յորժամ ի հանդէս քննութեան ելցեն յաղագս ժամանակաց անցելոցն, դիւրաւ  
 կարասցեն գտանել զժամս և զժամանակս, և զկատարած բարկութեանն ի վերայ  
 ժամանակացն գտանիցեն, և այնու զմտաւ ածեալ յիշեսցեն զաստուածասաստ  
 բարկութիւնն՝ զոր վասն մեղացն ընկալաք զհատուցումն յարդար դատաւորէն

19 համարեցայ, ] H համարեցան; L համարեացն

19 զայս ] F O Jer X K V զայս ի; Y սա ի

19 սիրողաց ] X սիրողացն

20 քննութեան ] D H I J L O W Z քննութեանց; X քննութեամբ

20 անցելոցն, ] A անցելոց

20 դիւրաւ ] F X դիւր; Jer K դիւրս

21 կարասցեն ] V Y աւգտակարեացեն; F X տակաւ արասցեն

21 զժամս ] Jer K V Y զժամ

21 զժամանակս, ] K զժամանակ

21 զկատարած ] J L V Y զկսիւն; F X զկտորած; D I Z զկսիւն; B զկատարածի; K զգործն; W  
 զկսիւն

21 բարկութեանն ] B բարկութիւնն; K X բարկութեան

22 ժամանակացն ] K X ժամանակաց

22 այնու ] A O այնու ևս; B այնու և

23 զոր ] A B D F H I J Jer K L O V W X Z զորս

23 մեղացն ] H L մեղաց մերոց

23 ընկալաք ] L ընկալայք

23 յարդար դատաւորէն ] H L արդարադատէն; C յարդարադատէն; D I J K O V W Y Z արդար  
 դատաւորէն

յԱստուծոյ, և վասն այսորիկ կողմանց կողմանց զկորուստ հաւատացելոցն և  
 25 զխրատս զոր անաւրէն ազգաւ խրատեաց զմեզ տէր Աստուած մեր. և ահա որ  
 ոչ կամեցաք զսպառնալիսն և զխրատն Աստուծոյ մոռացուցանել ի վերայ մեր:  
 Արդ արժան է միշտ և հանապազ լսել զխրատն Աստուծոյ մերոյ, և դարձեալ ի  
 նոյն պատուհասն մեղաց դեգերեալ շրջիմք, զոր ընկալաք ըստ արժանեաց մերոց

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- 24 յԱստուծոյ,] A B I J K O V W Y Z Աստուծոյ  
 24 վասն այսորիկ] Jer վասն այսոցիկ  
 24 կողմանց] H L զկողմանց; A B F G Jer K O V X Y *om.*  
 24 կողմանց] G ոմանց  
 24 հաւատացելոցն] D F H I J Jer K L O V W X Y Z հաւատացելոց  
 25 զխրատս] A զխրատ  
 25 զոր] D H I J O W Z զորս; L *om.*  
 25 անաւրէն] B անաւրէնն  
 25–26 որ ոչ] X որոց; H L զոր ոչ  
 27 է] Y է մեզ  
 27 լսել զխրատն Աստուծոյ մերոյ] L զխրատն Աստուծոյ լսել  
 27 զխրատն] X խրատն  
 27 մերոյ,] K *om.*  
 27 և] K և մեք  
 28 պատուհասն] D F H I J Jer L O W X Z պատուհաս  
 28 մեղաց] D F H J Jer L O W X Z մեղացն; K *om.*  
 28 դեգերեալ] K դեգերիմք  
 28 շրջիմք,] K *om.*  
 28 զոր] A B D F I J Jer K O V W X Y Z զորս  
 28 ընկալաք] L ընկալայք  
 28 արժանեաց] H L արժանեացն

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24 կողմանց] This is a difficult reading. A clue may lie with G, but it cannot be accepted without access to the original manuscript.

զհատուցումն. նա և այլ ևս ունիմք ասել ձեզ ամաց ութսնից զաշխատութենէ

30 Մատթէոսի Ուռնայեցւոյ և վանաց երիցու:

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29 ունիմք ] X ունիք; K om.

29 ութսնից ] X om.

29 զաշխատութենէ ] H L զաշխատութիւն

30 Մատթէոսի ] F X մատթէոս

30 Ուռնայեցւոյ ] H L յուռնայու

## Author's prologue to Book Three of the Chronicle

*The witnesses C, H, I, J, L, W, and Z lack this section of text, and are excluded from the apparatus. The text of Y is currently unavailable, hence also omitted.*

Ի յամէ չորեքհարիւրերորդէ ի հինգհարիւրերորդ յիսներորդ ի գիրս այս ժողովեցաք զգործ ժամանակաց հարիւր և յիսնից ամաց, և յայսմ տեղւոջ լռեալ դադարեցաք ի հարստաւոր քննութենէս մերմէ, վասն զի այլոց ոմանց թողաք զայս մարտ մտաց և պայքարումն խորհրդոց, և մեր յետ ելանելոյ տեղի տալով

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1 Ի] K Արդ ի

1 յամէ] A F Jer K O V յամի B D X յամին

1 չորեքհարիւրերորդէ ի հինգհարիւրերորդ] A B O չորեքհարիւրերորդի հինգհարիւրերորդի; K չորեքհարիւր և; Jer չորեքհարիւրերորդի և; V չորեքհարիւրերորդի հինգհարիւրերորդի և; F X D չորեքհարիւրերորդի

1 յիսներորդ] A B D F Jer K O V X յիսներորդի

1 այս] D F Jer O V X աստ; B այլ

2 զգործ] K ըստ

2 հարիւր և յիսնից] Jer K V հարիւր և յիսուն

2 ամաց,] X ամացն

3 հարստաւոր] A B O յարուեստաւոր

4 զայս] B զոր

4 պայքարումն] F պաքսամուրն; X պաքսամուր; G K մաքառումն

4 մեր յետ] Jer K V յետ մեր

4 ելանելոյ] F X ելանելով

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1 յիսներորդ] None of the texts gives a sensical reading in context. The only possible interpretation in this context, given the numbers in question, is ‘from the 400th year to the 550th’.



- 5 Լանճարեղացն և իմաստուն արուեստաւոր քննողաց, ըստ բանի սրբոյ առաքելոյն Պաւղոսի որ ասէ, «եթէ ոք յայտնեսցէ առաջինն լռեսցէ:» Եւ այս եղև ի Հայրապետութեանն տանն Հայոց տեառն Գրիգորիսի և տեառն Բարսղի, յորժամ եղև առաջին սկիզբն երկրապատմութեանս, և էր ի Հայրապետութեանն Հոռոմոց որ ի Կոստանդնուպաւլիս՝ Նիկաւլայ, և ի Հայրապետութեանն Անտիոքայ Յովհաննու,

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5 արուեստաւոր] Օ արուեստաւոր; Կ Հարստաւոր

5 սրբոյ] Jer V սրբոյն

5 սրբոյ առաքելոյն] X om.

6 յայտնեսցէ] A B D F Jer K O V X յատենի; A B D F Jer K O V X ելցէ,

6 առաջինն] V յառաջինն

6 եւ] X om.

6-7 Հայրապետութեանն] Կ Հայրապետութեան

7 տանն Հայոց տեառն] B O տան Հայոց տեառն; Կ Հայոց տէրն; V Հայոց տանն տեառն; Jer Հայոց տանն տէր

7-8 եղև առաջին] K V եղև յառաջին; A եղև; X առաջին

8 սկիզբն] A սկիզբն առաջին

8 երկրապատմութեանս,] D E G Jer K V X երկրպագութեանս

8 էր] Jer K V om.

8 որ] Jer K V om.

9 Նիկաւլայ,] Կ տէրն Նիկաւլայ

9 և ի Հայրապետութեանն ... Յովհաննու] F X om.

9 ի Հայրապետութեանն Անտիոքայ] Jer V ի յԱնտիոքայ Հայրապետութեանն; Կ յԱնտիոքայ Հայրապետութեան

9 Յովհաննու,] Կ տէրն Յովհաննու

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6 յայտնեսցէ] This is a corrupted quote of 1Cor 14:30, which reads ‘եթէ այլ ումեք որ նստիցին յայտնեսցի, առաջինն լռեսցէ:’ The words յատենի ելցէ have therefore been emended to յայտնեսցէ.

- 10 և ի հայրապետութեանն Երուսաղէմայ Սիմէանի, և ի հայրապետութեանն Աղէքսանդրու Յովհաննու, և ի հայրապետութեանն տանն Ասորւոց Աթանասի: Եւ ի յԱդամայ էին ամք ժամանակաց վեց հազար և վեց հարիւր և տասն, և արդ զամս տասն ոչինչ արարաք հոգս վասն այս ժամանակագրութեանս, և թողեալ

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10 և ] O *om.*

10 և ի ] B Jer K V *om.*

10 ի հայրապետութեանն Երուսաղէմայ ] Jer ի յԵրուսաղէմայ հայրապետութեանն; K V Երուսաղէմայ հայրապետութեանն; X ի հայրապետութեան Երուսաղէմայ

10 Սիմէանի, ] K տէրն Սիմէանի

10 և ] F *om.*

10 և ի ] B K *om.*

10–11 ի հայրապետութեանն Աղէքսանդրու ] Jer V ի յԱղէքսանդրու հայրապետութեանն; K ի Աղէքսանդրու հայրապետութեանն; X ի հայրապետութեան Աղէքսանդրու

11 Յովհաննու, ] K տէրն Յովհաննու

11 ի ] K *om.*

11 հայրապետութեանն ] A X հայրապետութեան; V Ասորւոց; Jer յԱսորւոց

11 տանն ] D *om.*

11 Ասորւոց ] V հայրապետութեան; Jer K հայրապետութեանն

11 Աթանասի: ] K տէրն Աթանասի

11 ի ] K *om.*

12 յԱդամայ ] K յԱդամայէին

12 էին ] K X *om.*

12 ժամանակաց ] Jer K V *om.*

12 վեց հազար և վեց հարիւր և տասն, ] B զհազար և զհարիւր և տասն

13 այս ] K այսր

13 ժամանակագրութեանս, ] A B K O ժամանակագրութեանցս

էաք ի բացեայ զարուեստ գրչութեանցս. և տեսանելով մեր հանապազաւոր զաս-  
 15 տուածասաստ բարկութիւնս հեղեալ ի վերայ քրիստոնէից, և ամ յամէ անկեալ  
 և գլորեալ լինէր զարութիւն զաւրաց հաւատացելոցն, և տեսաք զի ոչ ոք  
 ունէր ի մտի զայս խնդրել կամ ի գիրս հաւաքել, զի ապագայիցն յիշատակ լիցի  
 այս կատարածս և նեղութիւնս առ բարի ժամանակն յորժամ տացէ տէր Աս-  
 տուած զխոստացեալսն յետին ժամանակին, յորժամ տացէ Աստուած հաւատա-  
 20 ցելոց զժամանակն, որ լի իսկ իցէ ամենայն ուրախութեամբ. և ապա մեր յառաջ

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14 բացեայ] K բաց

14 զարուեստ] K զարհեստ

14 գրչութեանցս.] B K գրչութեանց

14 մեր] O մեք

15 ամ] K V յամ

16 և] Jer K V om.

16 զարութիւն] K զաւրք

16 զաւրաց հաւատացելոցն, և] X զաւրաց հաւատացելոց; B D F O V զաւրաց հաւատացելոց և;  
 K հաւատացելոց և; Jer զաւրաց և հաւատացելոց և

16 տեսակ զի ... ժամանակին,] X om.

16 ոք] B որ

17 խնդրել] D խնդրել և

17 ապագայիցն] B K V յապագայիցն

18 կատարածս] D V կտրծս

19 զխոստացեալսն] K զխոստացեալ

19 յորժամ տացէ] F X om.

19 տացէ] O K տացէ տէր

19 Աստուած հաւատացելոց] X om.

19 Աստուած հաւատացելոց զժամանակն,] F om.

20 իցէ] K է

եկեալ յայնժամ բազում ուրախութեամբ որպէս թէ յԱստուծոյ այս հրամայեցաւ  
ինձ, զայս այսպէս ի գիր հաւաքել և ապագայիցն թողուլ զայս յիշատակս. և  
թէպէտ ոչ է սա հոգևոր հմտութեամբ զարդարեալ, կամ արուեստ հոգևոր, և կամ  
շաւիղս առաքինութեան ինչ, այլ զխրատն տեսողն, զոր վասն մեղաց ազգի ազգի  
25 յանցանաւք ի բարկութիւն շարժեցաք զտէր Աստուած ի վերայ մեր, և ի նմանէ

21 յայնժամ] *K om.*

21 յԱստուծոյ] *K O V Աստուծոյ*

21 այս] *F X յայս; K տուաւ*

21 հրամայեցաւ] *D E F Jer V X համարեցաւ; K om.*

22 զայս] *K այս*

22 այսպէս ի] *K O այսպիսի*

22 գիր] *B գիրս*

22 հաւաքել] *B D F Jer O V հաւաքեալ*

22 յիշատակս.] *K յիշատակ*

23 թէպէտ] *F A O X D B թէպէտ և*

23 զարդարեալ,] *K զարդարեալ, և*

23 արուեստ] *X արուեստս*

23 հոգևոր,] *X հոգևորս*

23 և] *Jer om.*

23 կամ] *F X կայ*

24 շաւիղս] *Jer շառաւելս*

24 ինչ,] *K om.*

24 այլ] *X այլ առաքինութեան ինչ այլ*

24 զխրատն] *K զխրատ*

24 մեղաց] *K մեղաց մերոց և*

24 ազգի] *D F Jer V X om.*

25 յանցանաւք] *K յանցանք*

25 շարժեցաք] *K շարժէաք*

25 ի վերայ] *K om.*

առաք զխրատս զայս գաւազանանն նորա. և արդ պարտ և արժան է ոչ մոռանալ  
զսա որք կենդանիքս են ժամանակիս, այլ գրել յիշատակել զսա ծնանելոցն, եթէ  
այս է մեղաց պտուղն զոր ցանեցին հարքն մեր, և ևթնապատիկ ժողովեցին: Եւ վասն  
այսորիկ ես Մատթէոս՝ որ անարժանս եմ ողորմութեանն Աստուծոյ, զամս բազումս  
30 քաջաջան քննութեամբ կացի, և արիաբար մտաւք ի քաղաքս Միջագետաց Յուռհա  
ժողովեալ գրեցաք մինչև ցայս վայր, և զամաց երեսնից դեռ ևս առաջի կայ ի գրի  
հաւաքել. և արդ ահա այս վարդապետաց և կորովի գիտնականաց էր գործ և

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26 գաւազանանն ] K գաւազանաւ

26 և ] X om.

27 որք ] K որ

27 են ] Jer եմք ի; K V եմք

27 գրել ] X գրել զսա; A B գրել և

27 յիշատակել ] K յիշատակ

29 ես ] X ես Ր

29 Մատթէոս ] K Մատթէոսս

29 անարժանս ] Jer K անարժան

29 ողորմութեանն ] X ողորմութեան; Jer V ողորմութեամբն; K Ողորմութեամբն

30 քաղաքս ] X քաղաք; K քաղաքն

30 Միջագետաց ] K om.

30 Յուռհա ] B K O ուռհայ

31 գրեցաք ] K գրեցի

31 կայ ] F կայի

31 ի ] F X om.

32 հաւաքել. ] B X հաւաքեալ

32 ահա ] K om.

32 այս վարդապետաց և կորովի ] K այս կորովի վարդապետացս; D F X այս վարդապետացս  
և կորովի; Jer V այս վարդապետացս կորովի և

32 գիտնականաց ] D գիտնականացս

ոչ մերում տկարութեանս և կամ սակաւ գիտութեանս: Բայց այս սովորութիւն է  
 Աստուծոյ, զի ի տկարաց և ի նուազից գործ ինչ պիտանացու պահանջէ. որպէս  
 35 տեսանեմք զերամս մեղուացն և զարմանամք ընդ դասապետութիւնսն նոցա, եթէ  
 որպէս ոչինչ և ի թեթև մարմնոյն ամենայն որդիք մարդկան յագին քաղցրութեամբն  
 նոցա, և ի պէտս սրբոց մատչին գործք նոցա, և առաջի թագաւորաց փառաւորի. և  
 կամ մեռեալ որդն որ գայ և կենդանանայ, և վաստակաւք իւրովք ի գոյնս գոյնս

33 տկարութեանս ] A B D F Jer O V տկարութեանցս

33 գիտութեանս: ] A B D F Jer O V X գիտութեանցս

34 ի ] F X om.

34 նուազից ] K նուաստից

34 պահանջէ. ] K յարտայայտէ

35 տեսանեմք ] F V X տեսանեմ

35 մեղուացն ] O X մեղաւորացն; V մեղացն

35 դասապետութիւնսն ] K դասապետութիւնս

35 նոցա, ] K նոցա, եւ

36 որդիք մարդկան ] Jer K մարդիք; V մարդկան

36 յագին ] A B D F Jer O V X յագենան

36 քաղցրութեամբն ] D F Jer V X քաղցրութեամբ; K քաղցրութեանց

37 պէտս ] D պէտ

37 գործք ] A B O գործքն; K գործ

37 առաջի ] K առաջի փառաւոր; B յառաջա

37 փառաւորի. ] Jer V փառաւոր; K om.

37 և ] K և իշխանաց գայ: եւ

38 որդն ] V որդին

38 գոյնս ] B K գոյն

38 գոյնս ] K զգոյնս

զարդարէ զթագաւորս և զիշխանս, և ամենայն եկեղեցիք նովաւ հարստանան  
 40 պէսպէս զարդարանաւք. այսպէս և տկարութիւնս մեր համարձակութիւն էառ, և  
 առաջի հոգետորաց և իմաստնոց հզաւրաց և խորին հանճարեղաց և քաջակիրթ  
 քննողաց խաւսեցաք զայս, և յանձն արարաք զմատենագրութիւնս մեր նոցա,  
 վասն զի արկցեն ի բովս և քննութիւն արասցեն,\* և մեք ոչ ընդդիմանամք, վասն

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39 և ամենայն ... հարստանան] *X om.*

39 ամենայն] *K* զամենայն

39 եկեղեցիք] *O* յեկեղեցիք; *V* եկեղեցիքն; *K* որ

39 հարստանան] *A K* հարսնանան

40 և] *K om.*

41 հզաւրաց] *A K om.*

41 հանճարեղաց] *K* հանճարեղ եղբարց

42 խաւսեցաք] *K* խաւսել

42 յանձն] *A B D F Jer O V X* յանձին

42 արարաք] *X* արար

43 զի] *V om.*

43 ի բովս] *X* զբովս

43 և] *B D K om.*; *Jer* և ի

43 քննութիւն] *B F Jer K O V* քննութեան; *X* զքննութիւնս

43 արասցեն,] *B D F Jer K O V om.*

43 \*] *X intermittit*

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39 հարստանան] Readings ABO, as well as K, seem to agree on հարսնանան (are wed), but that makes little sense in this context.

42 յանձն] The lemma, which appears only in K, is the more classically correct reading; this usage may have shifted in post-classical times.

45 զի մերս ընդդէմ գիտնականաց ոչ ունի դիմագրութիւնս. որպէս և այն թեթև  
 թռչունն, թէպէտ և ձայնոյն ընդդիմանայ բազմաց այլ մարմնոյն տկարանայ, այն  
 որ կոչի ծիծառն. սակայն նա զմերս ունի նմանութիւն առ զարմանալի գործ  
 բնակութեանն իւրոյ, թէ զիարդ յոչընչոյ բնակութիւնս կազմէ և ի բարձունս առանց  
 հիման կառուցանէ, շաղախաբեր և շիղաբեր վաստակա հնարով հնարէ, և ամբող-  
 թիւնս պնդագոյնս հաստատէ և որդուոց իւրոց զնա տացէ ժառանգութիւնս, զոր և  
 50 այլ յաղթանդամ թռչնոց անհնար է զայն գործել, արծուոյ ասեմ և նմանեաց նորա,

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44 մերս ] K մեր

44 գիտնականաց ] A B F O գիտնականաց

44 դիմագրութիւնս. ] K դիմագրութիւն

44 թեթև ] V թեթև ի

45 թռչունն, ] K թռչուն

45 և ] K om.

45 մարմնոյն ] O մարմնով և; B մարմնով

46 սակայն ] F սակայն սակայն

46 զմերս ] Jer K V om.

46 ունի ] Jer K V ունի զմեր

46 նմանութիւն ] Jer V նմանութիւնս

46 զարմանալի ] D զարմանալ ի; K ի զարմանալոյ

47 բնակութեանն ] A B բնութեանն; Jer K բնակութեան

47 յոչընչոյ ] K յոչնչէ

47 բնակութիւնս ] Jer K V բնակութիւն

48 հնարով ] K հնարելով

49 պնդագոյնս ] K պնդագործս

49 և ] Jer զի

49 ժառանգութիւնս, ] K ժառանգումն

50 յաղթանդամ ] K ազգ



վասն զի զայլ քաջութիւնս մեծաւ կարողութեամբ առնեն հաւքն քաջաթոխքն.  
 բայց զայն զոր գործեաց թեթև թռչունն՝ զայն ոչ կարեն առնել: Արդ այսպիսի  
 արինակաւս հանճարեղք և գիտնականք զամենայն քննութիւնս հին և նոր կտա-  
 կարանացն Աստուծոյ կարող են առնել, և ի յայտ բերել ահաւոր և լուսաւոր  
 55 քննութեամբ. \*բայց զայս հաւաստապէս ասացից և առանց երկբայութեան, վասն

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51 վասն] *K om.*

51 զայլ] *Jer ալ*

51 քաջութիւնս] *F V քաջութեանս*

51 հաւքն] *K հաւքն քաջասիրտք և*

51 քաջաթոխքն.] *Jer K V քաջաթոխք*

52 գործեաց] *F ծործեաց*

52 զայն] *K om.*

52 առնել:] *Jer V առնուլ զայն*

53 արինակաւս] *K արինակաւ*

53 հանճարեղք] *D հանճարեղքն; F հանճարելքս*

53 գիտնականք] *D գիտնականքն*

53 քննութիւնս] *K om.*

55 \*] *X resumit*

55 հաւաստապէս] *O հաստատապէս*

55 և] *K om.*

55 երկբայութեան,] *V երկբայութեանն*

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55 հաւաստապէս] *O* reading could be a synonym, with connotation ‘solidly’

զի այս որ ի մէնջ քննեալ գծագրեցաւ. անհնար է եթէ այլ ոք կարող լինի զայս  
 գտանել և կամ հաւաքումն առնել միահամուռն ազգաց և թագաւորաց, հայրապե-  
 տաց և իշխանաց. զամենայն ժամանակս թուականութեամբ ի գիրս հաւաքել,  
 վասն զի վճարեալ հատան առաջինքն որք ականատեսք էին ամենայն ժամա-  
 60 նակացն: Արդ զայս ոչ ոք է կարող առնել, զոր ինչ մեք արարաք, զի զոր ինչ

56 զի այս որ] D F X զի այսորիկ; K այսր գրոցս որ; Jer V այսորիկ

56 մէնջ] X մէնչն; D F O V մէչն

56 քննեալ] K եթէ

56 գծագրեցաւ.] Jer V գծագրեցաք; K om.

56 անհնար] X անհնարին

56 ոք] A B Jer om.

56 զայս] K om.

57 առնել] B առնել և

57 միահամուռն] K միահամուռ; B կահամուռն առնել

57–58 հայրապետաց] K հայրապետացն

58 թուականութեամբ] K թվականութեամբն

58 ի գիրս հաւաքել.] K om.; F X ի գիրս հաւաքեալ; A B ի գիր հաւաքել

59 զի] F X om.

59 վճարեալ] V X զվճարեալ

59 որք] X որ

59 ականատեսք] X ականատես; V յականատեսք

59 ամենայն] V յամենայն; K յայնմ

59–60 ժամանակացն:] K ժամանակաց

60 զոր] D զաւր

60 զոր ինչ ... զի] K om.

57 միահամուռն] The reading in B is garbled, and could also be կամ(այ)?ամուռն. None of these possibilities seem to make sense.

գրեցաք գրեցաւ, զի զամս հնգետասան ունէաք զայս գործ քննութեանս, զոր  
ի մատենագրութիւնս ընթերցեալ գտանէաք զթուականութիւնս ժամանակացն ի  
յիշատակարանս գրոցն, և ընդ ծերսն ի քննութիւն մտեալ դեգերէաք անդադար  
քննութեամբ, և հաւաքեալ գրեցաք ի գիրս զայս ինչ:

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61 հնգետասան] K տասն և հինգ

61 զայս] K om.

61 գործ] F գոր

61 զոր] K զորս

62 մատենագրութիւնս] K մատենագրութեանս

62 զթուականութիւնս] A B O զթուականս; K զթվականութեանս

62 ժամանակացն] K ժամանակաց

62 ի] K և զորս

63 յիշատակարանս] K յիշատակարան

63 գրոցն,] D K գրոց

63 և] K որոնէաք և զորս

63 ի] K խաւսակցեալ

63 քննութիւն] K քննէաք

63 մտեալ դեգերէաք] K om.

64 քննութեամբ,] K դեգերմամբ

64 և] K Վասն այսորիկ այսքան ինչ կարի աշխատանաւք

64 հաւաքեալ] B հաւաք

64 գրեցաք] F գերեցեաք

64 ի գիրս ... ինչ:] K om.

64 զայս] B այս

65 Եւ արդ ես Մատթէոսն՝ այսու եղէ ցանկասէր և կամեցայ դառնալ ընդ նոյն  
 բնաբան պողոտայն, զոր արիւնակ ոք ի բազում ժամանակաց շրջեալ ի վերայ  
 համատարած մեծի ծովուն ովկիանոսի, և ցնորեալ բազում նեղութեամբ, և զկնի  
 երթիցէ ի տունն իւր խաղաղութեամբ. և զմտաւ ածեալ յիշեսցէ զսէր բազում  
 շահիցն, յայնժամ ոչինչ ի յանցեալ նեղութիւնսն մտաբերէ, և առ ոչինչ համարելով  
 70 զամենայն ինչսն զոր ի ծովուն նաւակոծեցաւ, այլ փութայ մեծաւ փափագանաւք  
 դառնալ ի նոյն ծովագնացութիւնս. այսպիսի արիւնակաւս և մեք դարձցուք ի

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65 Մատթէոսն ] K Մատթէոսս

65 եղէ ] B եղև

65 ցանկասէր ] K ցանկացաւդ

65 կամեցայ ] K կամ

65 դառնալ ] K գտանել

65 ընդ ] K ըստ

66 արիւնակ ոք ] F X արիւնակաւք; K արիւնակ, եթէ ոք

67 մեծի ] F մեծ ի

67 զկնի ] X զկնի ալեկոծութեան; F A O Jer D K V զկնի ալեկոծութեանն

68 տունն ] A B D K O X տուն

68 զսէր ] B զսէրն

69 ի ] O X om.

69 ի յանցեալ ... ոչինչ ] B om.

69 յանցեալ ] K յանցանել

69 նեղութիւնսն ] A նեղութեանցն

70 ալ ] X om.

70 փութայ ] D Jer K V փութով; O փութամ

71 դառնալ ] D K դառնայ

71 նոյն ] X նա

71 ծովագնացութիւնս. ] K նաւագնացութիւնս

71 արիւնակաւս ] D K արիւնակաւ

մեր թողեալ կէտ գրոյն, և գտաք զբնաբանն զառաջին զոր թողեալ էաք, յորժամ էաք ի յամս հինգհարիւր և յիսուն: Եւ արդ՝ սկսաք ասել ալ ևս զամաց քսան և ևթանց և երեսնից լիցի վճարումն գրոցս, վասն զի աճեաց թուականութիւնս

75 Հայոց բազում նեղութեամբ, և ի նոյն հայրապետութիւնս տեսառն Գրիգորիսի և ի թագաւորութեանն Յունաց Ալէքսին դարձաք յաւժարական մտաւք, և սկսաք առ ի պատմել զկոտորածս և զնեղութիւնս չար ժամանակիս այսորիկ: Եւ ոչ արարաք

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72 գտաք] X գտեալ

72 զբնաբանն] D զբնական; E F G X զբնականն; Jer K V զբնաբան

72 զառաջին] D F Jer O V զառաջինն; K առաջին

73 էաք] Jer K V էր

73 ասել] A ասել և

73 ալ ևս] X ալ և; K ևս ալ; A B զալ ևս

73 զամաց] Jer K V ամաց

73–74 քսան և ևթանց] D F O V X քսան և հնգանց; K քսան և երկուց; B քսան և հնգաց; A քսան և հնգից

74 երեսնից] K երեսնից որ և

74 գրոցս,] A B գրոցն

74 աճեաց] B աճեալ; K անց

75 Հայոց] K *om.*

75 հայրապետութիւնս] X հայրապետութեանս; Jer հայրապետութեան; K հայրապետութեանն

76 թագաւորութեանն] Jer թագաւորութեանս; V X թագաւորութեան

76 մտաւք,] D կամաւք

76 սկսաք] Jer սկսանիմք; F սկսան; K V սկսանի

77 զկոտորածս] A B զկատարածն; D V X զկսործս; F K O զկատարածս

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73–74 քսան և ևթանց] The clue to the reading here is the frequent occurrence of *իեանց*; the *-անց* ending is grammatically valid for *ևթն* but not *հինգ*, suggesting that the original reading was in fact *իե* and not *իե*.

զսա ի պէտս սնափառութեանց՝ որպէս կարծեալ ոմանց, այլ յիշատակս և ի  
յազդու մնա առ յապա ժամանակին. և ոչինչ զմտաւ ածի զտկարութիւն մտաց և  
80 զանկարողութիւն ի գիտութենէ հմտութեանց, այլ որք կատարեալք են գիտու-  
թեամբ հին և նոր կտակարանացն Աստուծոյ՝ նոքա են կարողք քերականական  
արուեստիւք զբանսն սրբել, և զամենայն սխալանս բանիցն պայծառացուցանել

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78 որպէս կարծեալ ոմանց,] *K om.*; A D F Jer O V X որպէս կարծել ոմանց

78 ալ] F O Jer X D K V ալ ի

78 յիշատակս] K յիշատակ

79 յազդու մնա] Jer K V սաստու մնա; D F X յաստու մնա

79 առ] F A O X D B V առ ի

79 յապա] K ապա; B O X յապայ

79 զմտաւ] K մտաւ

79 ածի] X ածէ

79 զտկարութիւն] X զտկարութիւնս; *K om.*

79 մտաց] K զմտաց տկարութիւնս

80 զանկարողութիւն] B զանկարողութեանց; K զանկարաւողութիւնս

80 ի գիտութենէ հմտութեանց,] B *om.*

80 որք] F որք

80 կատարեալք] A B D F O X կատարեալքն

80–81 գիտութեամբ] X գիտութիւն

81 նոքա] K նոքա կարաւղք

81 կարողք] A B կարող; *K om.*

81 քերականական] A B D F O V X քերական

82 զբանսն] O զզբասնսն; D K զբանս

82 սրբել,] K սրբագրել

82 սխալանս] A O B զսխալանս; Jer K V սխալանս իմոց

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78 որպէս կարծեալ ոմանց,] The reading in B, though in a minority, makes more grammatical sense.

ըստ աստուածատուր շնորհացն՝ որ տուաւ նոցա: Իսկ մեք ըստ տխմար մերոյ  
 գիտութեանս զայս քննեալ մաքրութեամբ և գրեցաք զբազում մատենագրութիւնս  
 85 զորս գտաք վասն նեղութեանց ժամանակացս այսոցիկ, զոր ի տեղիս տեղիս գրեալ  
 էին և թողեալ էին զայն իւրեանց յիշատակ, զոր և մեր ժողովեալ զայն ամենայն  
 բազում հոգաբարձութեամբ. և լսեցաք յալլոց ոմանց պատուականաց որք հասու  
 էին ժամանակացն և նեղութեանցն, և անսխալ հասեալ էին ի վերայ ժամանակացն և

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83 տխմար] B տխմար

83 մերոյ] A om.

84 գիտութեանս] A գիտութեանս մերոյ; X գիտութեան; K գիտութեանց

84 զայս] K այսքան

84 և] Jer K V om.

84 մատենագրութիւնս] F Jer V մատենագրութեանս

85 գտաք] G տեսաք

85 վասն] O վասն վասն

85 ժամանակացս] K ժամանակաց

85 այսոցիկ,] A B D F K V X այսորիկ

85 տեղիս] X om.

86 էին] Jer K V om.

86 իւրեանց] Jer յիւրեանց

86 իւրեանց յիշատակ, ... զայն] B om.

86 մեր] A O մեք

87 բազում] K զամենայն

87 լսեցաք] F սլեցեաք

87 յալլոց] K V X ալլոց

88 ժամանակացն] Jer K ժամանակաց

88 նեղութեանցն,] Jer K V նեղութեանց

88 անսխալ հասեալ ... և] K om.

88 ժամանակացն և թուականացն,] D F Jer V X om.

թուականացն, և ընդ ծերս ունէաք խաւսակարգութիւնս և քննութիւնս որք տեղեակ  
 90 էին անցեալ ամացն, ըստ բանի մարգարէին որ ասէ, հարցչիր դու ցհարս քո  
 և ասասցեն քեզ, ընդ ծերսն՝ և պատմեսցեն քեզ: Արդ այսպիսի աւրինակաւս  
 անհանգիստ եղեալ մեր, և զամենայն հոգս զբաղանաց թողեալ էաք, և զամենայն

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89 խաւսակարգութիւնս ] K զխաւսակարգութիւնս

89 և քննութիւնս ] X *om.*

89 որք ] K որ

89 տեղեակ ] V տեղեակ; A D K տեղեակք

90 ամացն, ] K ժամանակաց

90 հարցչիր ] F հաչիր

90 ցհարս ] D F Jer O V ընդ հարսն; X ցհարքս; B ցարսն

90 քո ] Jer *om.*

90 քո և ] B D F O V *om.*

90 քո և ... քեզ, ] X *om.*

91 ասասցեն ] K պատմեսցեն

91 ասասցեն քեզ, ] O *om.*

91 քեզ, ] A B քեզ, և

91 ընդ ] K *om.*

91 ծերսն ] K ցծերս քո

91 պատմեսցեն ] K ասասցեն

91 Արդ ] F X այրդ

91 այսպիսի ] B այսպիս; X այդպիսի

91 աւրինակաւս ] K աւրինակաւ

92 մեր, ] A մեզ

92 զբաղանաց ] X զբաղմանաց

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91 ասասցեն ] C.f. Deuteronomy 32:7. K's use of պատմեսցեն here, and ցծերս below, follows certain versions of the biblical text including that of Zohrab.



ցանկութիւնս արհամարհեալ էաք, և միշտ և հանապազ զայս ունէաք պայքարումն  
մտաց, զորս դարձեալ սկսաք ի գործ երկրապատմութեանս ըստ երանելի վար-  
95 դապետին Գրիգորի նիւսացոյ որ ասէր, դարձեալ ես ծերունիս յասպարիզի. զորս  
և մեր մնացեալ ալլոց ոմանց թողաք զայս քննել, և ահա տեսանէաք զամենեւեան  
հրաժարեալ ի պատմագրութենէ աստի, և տեսանէաք մեք զի ժամանակս գնալով  
գնայր, և հոսմունս և ծորմունս և զպակասութիւնն մեզ ցուցանէին, և զոչ կալ

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93 ցանկութիւնս ] F X ցանկութիւնք

93 և ] O *om.*

93 պայքարումն ] K մաքառումն

94 զորս ] A B D F Jer O V X զոր

94 ի գործ ] D F Jer K V X *om.*

94 երկրապատմութեանս ] K երկրպագութեանցս; O երկրապատմութեանցս; D F Jer V երկրպա-  
գութեանց; B երկրա պատմութեանս

95 նիւսացոյ ] B D F V X նիւսացոյ; K նիւսացոյն

95 ծերունիս ] B ծերունից

95 զորս ] K զոր

96 ալլոց ] A B յալլոց

96 թողաք ] X թողեալ; Jer K V *om.*

97 պատմագրութենէ ] F X պատմագրութեան; D պատմագրութենէն; B պատմագրութեանն

97 տեսանէաք ] K հայէաք

97 մեք ] K *om.*

98 և ] K ի

98 հոսմունս ] B D F O V X հոսմանս; K հոսումն

98 և ] K ի

98 ծորմունս ] D ծորմանս; K ծորումն; X զծորմունս

98 զպակասութիւնն ] D F Jer K V զպակասութիւն; B պակասութիւնն; X պակասութիւն

100 դադարման մարդկութեանս ի վերայ երկրի, այլ զփոփոխմունս աստեացս ի հանդերձեալսն ի յայտ բերէին. վասն զի անցաւոր են ամքս և ժամանակքս, այսպէս անցաւորք են ծնունդք նորա, և զոր արինակ մշտնջենաւորք են հանդերձեալքն, այսպէս և անկատարածք են ծնունդք նորա. և երանի որք հանդիպեսցին այնմ ուրախութեանցն, և երանի որք կերիցեն հաշ արքայութեանն Աստուծոյ:

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99 մարդկութեանս ] D մարդկութիւնս; A մարդկութեան

99 աստեացս ] A B D F O X յաստեացս

99–100 հանդերձեալսն ] X հանդերձեալ; K հանդերձեալն

100 ի ] K *om.*; X տէրն ի

100 անցաւոր ] D K O անցաւորք

100 ամքս ] X ամք

100 ժամանակքս, ] Jer V ժամանակ; D F K X ժամանակս

101 անցաւորք ] F V անցաւորքն

101 են ] K են և; F V X *om.*

101 ծնունդք ] D ծնունդ

101 հանդերձեալքն, ] X հանդերձեալք են

101 հանդերձեալքն, այսպէս ... են ] B *om.*

102 ծնունդք նորա. ] F O X ծնունդ նորա; K նորա ծնունդք

102 երանի ] K երանի այժմ բարեգործաւդաց; V երանի այժմ

102 որք ] V որ

102 հանդիպեսցին ] X հանդիպեսցեն

103 ուրախութեանցն, ] Jer K V ուրախութեանց

103 որք ] K որ

103 կերիցեն ] K կերիցէ

103 արքայութեանն ] A D F Jer յարքայութեանն; X յարքայութեան

## Appendix B: Translation of excerpts from the Chronicle

Given here is an English translation for the text that appears in appendix A. Page references to that text are given in square brackets. The Biblical references to certain passages have been marked where they are especially relevant or explicitly quoted by Matthew, but the task of a full concordance is not within the scope of this thesis. The Bible consulted is the Constantinople edition of 1895, although the Zohrab edition of 1805 was also checked wherever a grammatical point was at stake.

### First prophecy of Yovhannēs Kozērñ, 478 (1029/30)

[227] In 478 of the Armenian reckoning (1029/30), in the years of the Greek *kaisar* Vasil, there appeared in the heavens a frightful and horrible sign, and anger against all creation. On the third of the month of October at the third hour of the day the upper firmament was rent from the east side to the west, the blue sky was split in two and a brilliant light was thrown down on the earth from the north, and the entire earth trembled with a great shaking; and before the light faded there was a shout and a frightful noise over all creation; the sun darkened and the stars appeared as if in the middle of the night, and all the world was clothed in mourning, and all peoples cried out to God with bitter tears. And then after three days all the princes and nobles were assembled by order of the Armenian king Yovhannēs, and they came before the holy *vardapet* Yovhannēs Kozērñ, who was a divinely-clothed man who led an angelic life,

and was truly full of understanding of apostolic and prophetic writings. And when the Armenian princes came to question him and to understand about the marvellous spectacle and sign, they saw that the holy *vardapet* Yovhannēs had fallen upon his face in sorrow and was crying bitterly. And when they questioned him, he gave an answer with bitter spirit and miserable sighs and said ‘O children, listen to me; woe and wretchedness to all mankind, for behold today is 1000 years since the binding of Satan whom our Lord Jesus Christ bound with his holy cross, and particularly with his holy baptism in the Jordan river. And now Satan has been freed from his bonds, according to the testimony of the vision of John the evangelist, as the angel of God told him that Satan would be bound for 1000 years and [228] would then escape his bonds. And behold today Satan has been freed from his thousand years of bonds, as this is the year 478 in the Armenian era (1029/30). With 552 years gone before, it comes to 1030 years; given thirty years up to Christ’s baptism, and there are 1000 up to today. And now because of this the rending of the heavens has occurred. And behold hereafter no one will be able to remain firm in his faith in Christ or the commandments of God; neither *hayrapet* nor *vardapet*, neither bishop nor priest, neither hermit nor coenobite, neither prince nor populace. Princes join robbers and thieves and pillagers; judges turn to bribes and unjust verdicts. Monks leave the hermitage and cloister, and occupy themselves in the distractions of the world, and roam the streets among women; they despise prayer and leave their monastic orders, they embrace the habits of the world and chase the glory of mankind. In their ruminations they ruminate upon demonic songs and, puffed up over their companions, they will say “I know the part and the melody and you do not”. And with all this they disturb

the order of service. Many will become contemptuous of learning, idle and speaking in vain, quarrelsome and accusing. And wherever the truth appears to men, then they become stubborn, self-loving, and despisers of their friends, tell-tales, informants, liars, proud, glory-seeking, presumptuous, self-conceited, gluttonous, wine-loving, and lecherous. My sons, behold henceforth the praise of God by men will be obstructed, and the truth will not appear among men. Rather, impious princes with terrible vices [will appear], audacious and sinful; they will abandon their [spiritual] cares for the [229] well-being of their houses and the success of their deeds, and they will constantly engage in drunkenness out of their love and desire for the evil and impure vice; *hayrapets* and bishops and priests and monks [will be] lovers of silver rather than lovers of God. My children, behold henceforth the will of Satan shall be accomplished among [230] the sons of man more than the will of God, which hereafter is to come by means of unworthy celebrants. God will rage against these creatures, and in particular against those who offer Him [in communion], for Christ [i.e. the host] is to be offered by the unworthy and distributed to the unworthy, and our Lord Jesus Christ will be more wounded by the unworthy priests than by His torture and crucifixion by the Jews, for Satan whom Christ bound has been freed [231] from his thousand-year bonds. And this I bid you, my sons, with sighs and a weeping and lamenting heart, because many are breaking away from the faith and are ostentatiously denying Christ, and because of this darkness takes hold of all creation.' So the holy Armenian *vardapet* said these things about the sign of the consummation of [God's] wrath, and he discoursed upon many other things that would come to pass [232] upon the faithful, and behold all these things

were fulfilled one by one by means of the appearance of the furious and dog-like nation of Turks, the impious and impure sons of Ham.

## **Second prophecy of Yovhannēs Kozērn, 485 (1036/7)**

[233] In this reckoning and in 485 of the Armenian era, the sun was darkened in a terrible and marvellous spectacle. For just as it had been darkened in this manner at the crucifixion of Christ, in this same way its light was hidden and it was clothed in shadow; and the lights of this world turned to obscurity and blackness, and all the heavens like a [234] vaulted arch were bound in darkness, and the sun became blackened at midday, and all the stars appeared together as if in the middle of the night, and the darkness and obscurity intensified. And all creatures cried out together, and all the mountains and hills resounded, and the mountains and all the rocks shook with trembling, and the great boundless ocean sea undulated with trembling and, sinking into grief, mourned all the sons of man. [235] And it happened that when the sons of man saw all this, they were terrified from fear like dead men.

Then a son cried for his father, and a father cried over his sons; young children frightened from fear fell into the arms of their parents; the mothers, made miserable with a severe inflammation like fire, cried for their children. And thus all creatures were terrified, and they were besieged by fear<sup>1</sup> and they could not find a way out; [236] they wondered fearfully at the marvellous sign, and were terrified all alike.

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<sup>1</sup>K reads 'they were being gazed fixedly at by fear'.

Then Lord Petros the *hayrapet* of the Armenians and the king Yovhannēs sent respected men to the holy *vardapet* of the Armenians Yovhannēs, who was called Kozeṛn, so that they might find out from him an interpretation of the great sign, for he was a holy man and adorned with wondrous asceticism, and was an interpreter of the old and new testaments of God, [237] filled with scholarly grace. Indeed Grigor Magistros the son of Vasak and the great Haykazn Sargis and other nobles of the Armenian nation and other priests were sent to the Armenian *vardapet*, so that they might understand the repetition of the frightening sign.

[238] And it happened that when they went to the Armenian *vardapet*, they found that again he was face-down on the ground in deep sorrow, and the ground had become wet with [his] tears; and because of the severity of his grief and the bitter sighs which came from his mouth, no one presumed to ask him anything, because they saw him in deep grief and [239] in this frightful sorrow<sup>2</sup>, and his tears flowed unceasingly and he beat his breast. And then the Armenian princes sat near the *vardapet* Yovhannēs, and up to the sixth hour of the day they did not dare to say anything or to ask about the frightful sign, and all those who had come to him wept together.

Then when the Armenian *vardapet* saw the lamentation of all those who had come, opening his mouth he began to speak with sighs and many tears and he began [240] to weep for all the nations of the faithful; and he wept for the priestly order and the decay in sanctity of the holy sacrament, and he wept for the church of God and the destruction of the commandments, in which the divine is concealed.

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<sup>2</sup>Variant reads 'in frightful sorrows'.

And he began to speak thus to the Armenian princes: "O my glorious sons, listen to these words from the wounded and afflicted Yovhannēs; for behold today [241] 1000 years have passed since the tortures of the crucifixion of Christ,<sup>3</sup> and the release of the wicked Belial, whom the Saviour had bound in the Jordan river,<sup>4</sup> which was shown to us by the first sign more than fourteen<sup>5</sup> years ago, about which we spoke. And now it has [242] repeated, for first the heavens were torn apart and the earth was darkened. And behold in this year the stars have been obscured and all creatures were frightened, because henceforth all the nations of the faithful in Christ shall be turned to darkness; for hereafter [243] the ranks of the holy church of Christ are obscured in all the nations of the faithful. They weaken [and turn away] from fasting and prayer, they lack hope for the future, fear of the judgement of God is disdained,<sup>6</sup> the true faith disappears from all nations, the worship of God weakens, they despise the commandments of God, they become disobedient to the words of the holy Gospel of Christ; they all show themselves opposed to the holy [244] commandments of God, they disdain the words of the holy *vardapets*, and they mock the instructions of the canons of the holy *hayrapets*, and thus many fall from the height of faith and despise the doors of the holy church, and because of their laziness in fasting and prayer they become blind to the worship of God. Many come under the yoke [245] of curses, because they do not heed the advice<sup>7</sup> of the divine words

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<sup>3</sup>AHL reads 'tortures of Christ in/at the Crucifixion'.

<sup>4</sup>Y reads 'into the Jordan river'.

<sup>5</sup>A reads 'six', which almost tallies with the placement of this prophecy within the Chronicle. The others (which all lack the beginning of the earlier prophecy, and thus lack context) seem to suggest that Kozerñ made an earlier prophecy in 471 (1022/3). As discussed on p. 89 above, the original number probably should have been 'four'.

<sup>6</sup>The comma placement in HIDJLZW gives 'they lack hope for the future [and] fear of the judgement of God; true faith is disdained and disappears...'

<sup>7</sup>G reads 'they did not believe in the advice'.



of the holy fathers. Sons are cursed by their parents for their lack of filial submission, parents are tormented by their offspring; the compassion of loving friendship shall dry up from fathers and from children. And behold henceforth many schisms enter the church of God through the idleness of the *hayrapets*, because they grow feeble and weaken and [246] fail to make an examination of their faith and lose their minds. They put aside the faith on account of money, and the singing of hymns ceases in the house of God; fear and dreadful awe of the judgement of God, on the frightful day which is to come, is dispersed and blocked from every mind. They forget the recompense of the righteous and the sinful, because they will become sin-loving and covetous of evil ways. They come through their desires [247] to the meeting-hall of sins, for behold the earth will be corrupted by kings and princes and leaders. The leaders and princes will become bribe-lovers and liars and perjurers, and by means of their bribe-taking they pervert justice concerning the rights of the poor. And because of this God is even more provoked to anger against them, for they cultivate their governance and rule for [earthly] recognition and not agreeably to God. And they rule imperiously over their district[s], neither guiding nor teaching with the fear of God, as the holy apostle Paul commanded. Princes and [248] judges [will be] more whore-loving than God-loving and they come to despise holy matrimony, and they surround themselves with vice through fornication, and embrace the destruction of their own peers. They glorify traitors and thieves, they unjustly plunder the possessions of the working people, [they are] merciless concerning upright judgements. My sons, behold henceforth the doors of the holy church will be shut due to the hostility of the leaders, [249] and the ranks of the holy will disappear from every nation; and out of avarice they give consecration to many

unworthy men and bring all the impure men into the ranks of the priesthood. And then Christ is celebrated in the Mass by the unworthy priests, and many take communion from Him unworthily, not for salvation but for damnation and loss of the soul. And wherever throughout the nations there is a true celebrant of the holy mystery of Christ, through him God has mercy on the land.

[250] Sons, they wound the holy and the virtuous, and they turn away the pure from the priesthood for want of money, they do not give consecration [to them]. And as we said fourteen<sup>8</sup> years ago at the appearance of the other sign, many slacken from the faith of the worship of God, because many of the priests [251] and monks weaken from their monastic lives. They will come to desire vice; in their musings they ponder diabolical deeds. Monks flee from the hermitages and shun the holy company of hermits, and disdain and despise the customs of the early monks; they will become disturbers of the holy orders and of monastic ways; they flee from the sound of the singing of psalms to God. All these things will occur, my sons; in this nation the leaders of the land will overflow with avarice,<sup>9</sup> and they call forward all the [252] fallen and those separated from the grace of the Son of God and put them in the priestly orders, and they establish all these wretched ones as head and principal over the assembly of God; and they know not what they do, because they are blinded by the intensity of their avarice. And moreover I have this to say: that behold henceforth Christ will be afflicted with a great wound by unworthy priests, greater than his crucifixion and torture by the Jews, for what was omitted by them will be accomplished by these; [253] and one will hear, "Friend, why have

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<sup>8</sup>Here all witnesses retain 'fourteen', although A previously emended the number to 'six'.

<sup>9</sup>This could well be reference to the *katholikos* of the time, Petros Getadarj. See Mahé, 'L'Église arménienne', 526.

you come to this wedding?"<sup>10</sup> Then, tying him by the feet and tying him by the hands, they drag him to the outer darkness, and his possessions are heaped in perdition upon him.

My sons, behold all this will happen in the final era; for Satan whom Christ bound with his cross has been freed from his thousand-year bonds; and henceforth true believers in Christ will appear standing against him [254] in battle, for he must battle against the saints who, protected by the commandment of God, stand in the ranks of the true confession of Christ our God, and who exist throughout all nations. Hereafter there are invasions by foreigners,<sup>11</sup> the cursed sons of K'am, the filthy forces of the Turks, upon the Christian nations, and all the earth is consumed by the edge of the sword. All the [255] nations of the faithful in Christ pass through famine and captivity. Many districts become depopulated. The power of the saints will disappear from the earth. Many churches are razed to their foundations. The mystery of Christ's cross will be suppressed. As impiety proliferates, the feast days of the saints will be suppressed. Sons are provoked against fathers, fathers develop hatred toward sons, brothers will arise against each other, through murder and bloodshed they strive to destroy one another. They deny the compassion and love of brotherhood, [256] the blood of their brotherhood will dry up, and through such deeds they become like the infidel. And the land is troubled by infidel nations,

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<sup>10</sup>HL restores the original verse: "why have you come in here when you have no wedding garment?" C.f. Matthew 22:11–14.

<sup>11</sup>DIJWZ (possibly together with C) reads '...confession of Christ our God; this was the reason that the sun darkened. Those who stand for this nation henceforth will become deliverance from outsiders...' HL preserves 'invasion' rather than 'deliverance'; it is unclear which reading the scribe intended.

and the plants of the field are clothed in bloody dew, and for 60 years the earth will be desolated through sword and captivity.

And then the nation of valiant ones will come, known as Franks, and with a multitude of troops they will take the holy city Jerusalem, and the holy tomb [257] that held God is freed from captivity.

And after this the earth is ravaged for 50 years by the forces of the Persians through sword and captivity, and [it will be] seven times more than what the faithful have already suffered, and all the nations of the faithful in Christ are terrified.<sup>12</sup> And the forces of the Romans will be in despair over the multitude of tribulations. They suffer much death and massacre at the hands of the [258] Persian nation; they slaughter the most elite of the brave soldiers with sword and captivity, until the Roman forces despair of salvation. And after fifty years they begin to strengthen little by little; and wherever there are remnants of the former armies, year after year they advance and settle as lieutenants in the lands and districts.

[259] Then as if waking from sleep the king of the Romans arises and comes like an eagle against the Persian forces with a fearful multitude like sand on the shore of the sea. He will come inflamed like fire, and out of fear of him all creatures tremble, and the Persians and all the foreign forces shall take their flight<sup>13</sup> to the other side of the great Gihon<sup>14</sup> river.

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<sup>12</sup>HL reads 'behold all the nations of Christ's faithful dwell.'

<sup>13</sup>Punctuation in J reading gives 'all creatures and the Persians and all people tremble, and the foreign forces shall take flight'.

<sup>14</sup>The Armenian form of this name is Jahuni. Dostourian has taken it to refer to the Pyramus river in Cilicia, which is known in Arabic as the Jeyhān, but the pseudo-Methodian origin of this prophecy renders that implausible. The Gihon, one of the four rivers flowing from Eden (c.f. Genesis 2:13) and referred to as 'the river of Persia' by the Syriac historian Bar Hebraeus (Hebraeus, *The chronicle of Gregory Abû 'l Faraj*, 196), is a much more plausible identification.

[260] And then the Roman king will take and rule the whole land for many years; and all the earth will receive renewal, and the foundation for building will be laid, and so it will be renewed like after the flood. The offspring of men and beasts multiply, fountains will gush forth streams of water, the fields bear more fruit than before. And thereafter famine<sup>15</sup> will fall on the Persian land for many years, [261] until they attack and consume each other. And out of fear of the might of the Roman king many Persian princes will leave their cities and districts, and will take flight without a battle to the other side of the Gihon river. And [the Romans] will take all their collections of gold and silver accumulated over many years, and all the multitude of treasures [heaped up] like dirt or piles of stones in such measure, [262] from the Persian land, and bear them off to the Roman land. And they will take all the boys and girls and women to the Roman land in captivity. The nation of the Persians will become desolate and depopulated by the forces of the Romans, and all the sovereignty of the earth will settle in the hand of the Roman king.'

Thus spoke the holy *vardapet* Yovhannēs and, letting them go, sent the Armenian princes away in peace, and they went to their own land.

## **Author's prologue to Book Two**

[263] Now indeed up to this point, through fatiguing and laborious examination, we have found out and written this historical work about [the events of] 100 years, which we have put together [after] having enquired for a long time, from a number of eye- and ear-witnesses who were born in years past, and through

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<sup>15</sup>F reads 'Zion'.

the readers of earlier historians which have become [264] eyewitness to all these occurrences and troubles that the Armenian people have borne because of their sins. Now I have considered this many times, to write for this later time about the violent massacres, this dreadful wrath, which the Armenian nation bore at the hands of the hairy and filthy Elimnac<sup>‘ik</sup> nation of the Turks, [265] and of their Roman brothers. And because of this it became necessary to my mind to find [K: see] this work completed through ceaseless research, like for something reckoned great. And because of this I made a collection and I wrote up to this point about the three nations and about the *hayrapets* and about various other enquiries concerning nations and kings, of which I spoke earlier, and which later we will yet call the beginning of the end, which [266] came to pass in the days of our fathers, who had often seen [these things] with their own eyes. So indeed I had this intention, and for eight years I was engaged in unceasing research, and I was eager to put all this in writing as witness and as a document, so that all these eras might not perish in evil bitterness and be forgotten. And therefore I, Matt<sup>‘ēos</sup> Urhayec<sup>‘i</sup>, a monk, have reckoned as nothing [267] my work of labour, but I leave this record for those who love chronicles, so that when they enter into an examination of past times, they will easily be able to find the times and the epochs,<sup>16</sup> and they might learn of the fulfilment of wrath over the eras, and having pondered that, they might remember the severe divine wrath which we received in return for our sins from the righteous judge [268] God; and the ruin of the faithful everywhere because of these [sins] and the punishment which our Lord God imposed on us by means of an impious nation; and indeed we did not want the threats and warnings [made] to us from God to be forgotten. Now it

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<sup>16</sup>YVKJer reads ‘they will find easily useful’. FX ‘they will easily do by slow degrees’.

is fitting, always and ever, to heed the warning of our God, and again we turn back to the same punishment<sup>17</sup> for frequent sins, a consequence which we have received as we [269] deserved. We have that and even more to say to you of 80 years about the labour of Matt'ēos Urhayec'i, the elder of a monastery.

### **Author's prologue to Book Three**

[270] From the 400th year to the 550th we have collected in this book the deeds spanning 150 years<sup>18</sup> and, having fallen silent in this place, we have ceased our productive<sup>19</sup> investigation, for we left this battle of minds and struggle of wills to others, and while we withdrew and gave way [271] to men of wit and wise and artful scholars, according to the words of the holy apostle Paul, who said 'If someone has a revelation, let the first keep silent'.<sup>20</sup> And it was in the reign of the Armenian katholikoi Lord Grigor and Lord Barseł when the beginning of this world history first arose. And it was in [the era of] the Roman patriarchate of Nicholas at Constantinople, and of the Antiochene patriarchate of Yovhannēs, [272] and of the patriarchate of Simeon in Jerusalem, and of the patriarchate of Yovhannēs in Alexandria, and of the patriarchate of Athanasios of the Syrian nation. And from Adam there were 6610 years of time, but we took no notice of the ten years with respect to this chronicle and, having neglected [it], [273] we were far from artfulness in writing. And when we saw every day the severe divine wrath poured out upon the Christians, and [that] year after year the strength of the armies of the faithful passed away and fell, we saw that no

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<sup>17</sup>K reads 'again we frequent the same punishment'.

<sup>18</sup>K reads 'the eras one after another' or 'according to the eras'.

<sup>19</sup>A reads 'skilful, artful'.

<sup>20</sup>c.f. 1 Cor. 14:30.

one had the intention to pursue this or to collect [it] in writing, so that there might be a record of this destiny and tribulation for future times, for the good era, when God will give what he promised in the later time, when God will give to the faithful the era that will indeed be full of every joy. So we then forged [274] ahead with great joy as if this were commanded to me by God, to thus collect these things in writing and to leave this record for the future. And although this is not adorned with spiritual prowess or spiritual artfulness or any gleam<sup>21</sup> of virtue, still [it is] the admonishment of the Lord; because of the sins of all nations, through [our] transgressions, we moved the Lord God against us in anger, and [275] we received this chastisement from him through his staff. And now it is necessary and proper that those living in this time not forget this, but write and record it for those to come—that this is the fruit of sins which our fathers sowed and collected sevenfold. And because of this I, Matt'ēos, who am unworthy of the mercy of God,<sup>22</sup> spent many years in diligent research and, having collected [records] with a valiant will in the Mesopotamian city of Urha, I wrote up to this point, and there still lies ahead [the history] of 30 years to collect in writing.<sup>23</sup> Now truly this was a work for *vardapets* and skilled scholars and [276] not for our weakness nor for our sparse knowledge. But this is God's habit, that He requires<sup>24</sup> some useful work from the weak and the inconsequential;<sup>25</sup> just as we see the hives of bees<sup>26</sup> and we marvel at their organisation, for despite their nothingness, from their light bodies all the sons

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<sup>21</sup>Jer reads 'shoots, offspring'.

<sup>22</sup>KVJer reads 'I Matthew who am unworthy, through the mercy of God [have spent many years...]'

<sup>23</sup>BX reads 'collected in writing'.

<sup>24</sup>K reads 'he declares/expresses'.

<sup>25</sup>K reads 'humble/inferior'.

<sup>26</sup>V reads 'hives of sins'; OX reads 'hives of sinners'.



of man enjoy their sweetness, and their products are presented for [use of] the saints, and it is praised before kings;<sup>27</sup> or also the dead worm which comes back to life and, through its labours, [277] decorates the kings and princes in all sorts of colours, and all the churches are enriched with various ornaments. Thus boldness has taken our weakness, and we have spoken this before rhetors and mighty philosophers and the deeply wise and well-versed researchers, and we have recommended our history to them, so that they might cast [it] into the furnace and carry out an examination, and we do not oppose [this], because [278] we have no insolence toward those who are knowledgeable. [We are] also like that frail bird, although with its voice it is the equal of many, still it is weak of body: the one called the swallow. Nevertheless it bears a resemblance to our endeavours in its amazing work of nest-building,<sup>28</sup> in the way in which it builds this home from nothing and fixes it high up without any foundation; it applies itself with diligence to the labour of carrying mud and straw, and it guarantees very firm stability and could give [the nest] as an inheritance to its sons, and it is impossible for other stronger birds<sup>29</sup> to do this. I speak of the eagle and the like, [279] for the high-soaring birds do other valourous deeds with great ability, but they cannot do that thing which the frail bird does. Now in this manner the intelligent and the learned are able to conduct all [sorts of] examinations of the old and new testaments of God, and to clarify them through awesome and brilliant examination, but this I shall say certainly and without doubt, for [280] this was sketched out having been researched by us. It was impossible for anyone else to find this or to make a collection [in writing] about all the

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<sup>27</sup>K reads 'kings and princes'.

<sup>28</sup>AB reads 'amazing work of nature'.

<sup>29</sup>K reads 'nations'.

various nations and kings, *hayrapets* and princes, [and] to gather all the eras chronologically, because the forerunners who were eyewitnesses to all the eras have died and fallen away. Indeed no one is able to do this thing that we did, for what [281] we wrote is written, because for 15 years we have been engaged in this work of research. Having read compositions,<sup>30</sup> we found the dates of the eras in colophons of books, and having entered into research with old men we have engaged ceaselessly in research, and when we had collected<sup>31</sup> these things we wrote them in this book.

[282] And so I, Matt'ēos, became passionate about this and I wished to return<sup>32</sup> along that same thematic thoroughfare, like one who roamed for many years about the great universal ocean sea, and was driven mad by many tribulations, and after the tempest would go to his home in peace. And upon contemplation he might remember his love of great profit, then he bears nothing in mind of his past troubles, and with great eagerness hastens to return to the same sea-voyaging. So by this example let us also return to [283] the point in the book at which we left off, and we found the earlier text<sup>33</sup> that we had left, when we were in the year 550. And so we began to speak about another 27 years and there are 30 years to the end of this book, for the [years of the] Armenian era have grown<sup>34</sup> amid many tribulations; and we returned to that patriarchate of Lord Grigor and to the Greek reign of Alexios with willing mind, and we began<sup>35</sup> to

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<sup>30</sup>K reads 'this composition'.

<sup>31</sup>X reads 'captured'. K has a substantially different reading here: '...and things that we sought in colophons, and things that we investigated through unceasing pursuit of conversation with old men; therefore having collected so many things through a great deal of work we wrote them [down].'

<sup>32</sup>K reads 'I am/stand to find'.

<sup>33</sup>DEFGX reads 'natural'.

<sup>34</sup>K reads 'passed'.

<sup>35</sup>The punctuation in B gives 'willingly. And mindfully we began'

narrate the massacres and the tribulations of those evil times. And we did not do [284] this out of vainglory, as some have supposed, but [as] a record and as a warning<sup>36</sup> to the future. And I have paid no heed to weakness of mind or incapacity for the understanding of experience, but those who are accomplished with knowledge of the Old and New Testaments of God are able to purify the words with grammatical skill, and to elucidate all the mistakes in the words [285] according to the God-given grace which was granted to them. Now we researched this with purity according to our simple understanding and we wrote many compositions which we found about the tribulations of those times, which were written in various places and had left that record of their own, and we collected all of it with great solicitude, and we heard from<sup>37</sup> other respectable men who comprehended the times and the troubles, and unerringly understood the times and [286] the epochs, and we held interviews and examinations of old men who were well-acquainted with years past, according to the words of the prophet who says ‘Question<sup>38</sup> your fathers and they will speak to you, question old men and they will tell you.’ Now in this way we have been tireless, and have abandoned all the concerns of our [own] affairs, and [287] have disdained all our [own] desires, and constantly held this struggle in mind, so again we began the work of world history according to the blessed *vardapet* Gregory of Nyssa who said ‘again I, an old man, am in this arena.’ And so, waiting for someone else, we abandoned this enquiry, and indeed we saw everyone shrink from this history-writing, and we saw that time continued to pass, and the outpouring and trickling and diminution of time was evident to us, and that there is no [288]

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<sup>36</sup>JerKV reads ‘rebuke’.

<sup>37</sup>F reads ‘we whistled’.

<sup>38</sup>F reads ‘Bark’.

cessation of mankind upon the earth, but it has made clear the transformation of the present into the future. For these years and times are transient, just as their offspring are transient, and in this way eternity is the future, and thus its offspring is endless. And blessed are those who have attained that joy, and blessed those who partake of the feast of the kingdom of God.

## Appendix C: Lists of rulers of the period

### Byzantine emperors, 952–1129

945–59	Constantine VII Porphyrogenitos
959–63	Romanos II
963–9	Nikephoros II Phokas
969–76	John I Tzimiskes
976–1025	Basil II
1025–8	Constantine VIII
1028–34	Romanos III Argyros
1034–41	Michael IV the Paphlagonian
1041–2	Michael V the Caulker
1042	Zoe and Theodora
1042–55	Constantine IX Monomachos
1055–6	Theodora
1056–7	Michael VI Bringas
1057–9	Isaac I Komnenos
1059–67	Constantine X Doukas
1067–71	Romanos IV Diogenes
1071–8	Michael VII Doukas
1078–81	Nikephoros III Botaneiates
1081–1118	Alexios I Komnenos
1118–43	John II Komnenos

### Armenian kings in Ani, 952–1045

928–52	Abas I
952–77	Ašot III Ołormac
977–89	Smbat II
989–1020?	Gagik I
1020?–41	Yovhannēs-Smbat I
1020?–40	Ašot IV Kaĵ
1042–5	Gagik II

## Appendix D: List of all known manuscripts

### Manuscripts containing full texts of the Chronicle

Stemma ref	Manuscript number	Date
V	Venice 887 (Mekhitarist library)	1590–1600
W	Vienna 574 (Mekhitarist library)	1601
F	Matenadaran 1731	1617
J	Matenadaran 5587	1617
B	Matenadaran 1767 (Vaġaršapat Բ)	1623
P	Paris 191 (Bibliothèque Nationale)	1642–47
D	Matenadaran 3519 (Vaġaršapat Դ)	1647
H	Matenadaran 1768	before 1661
C	Matenadaran 3071 (Vaġaršapat Մ)	1651–61
L	London OR5260 (British Library)	1660
I	Matenadaran 1769	1664
X	Venice 901	1669
A	Matenadaran 1896 (Vaġaršapat base)	1689
K	Bzommar 449	1699
	Rome 25 (Armenian Hospice)	17th c.
E	Matenadaran 3520 (Vaġaršapat Ե)	17th c.
Y	Venice 913	17th c.
Z	Venice 917	17th c.
	Jerusalem 1107 (St. James)	17th c.
	Jerusalem 1051	(unknown)
	Jerusalem 3651	17th c.
O	Oxford MsArm e.32 (Bodleian Library)	1700–5?
	Matenadaran 8232	1709
	Matenadaran 8159	1716–19
Q	Paris 200	1728
	Bzommar 644	1775–1805
	Matenadaran 2855	18th c.
	Matenadaran 3380	18th c.
	Vienna 243	18th-19th c.
	Venice 986	1830–5
	Matenadaran 8894	1848
	Matenadaran 6605	1849
G	Matenadaran 2644 (Vaġaršapat Գ)	1850–7
	Matenadaran 2899	19th c.
	Vienna 246	19th c.

## Manuscripts containing excerpts of the Chronicle

Manuscript number	Date
Bzommar 430	1323
Matenadaran 6686	1582
Paris 140	1652
Matenadaran 1775	1671
Matenadaran 1781	1756
Oxford MsArm d.7	18th c.
Munich 9 (Staatsbibliothek)	1801

## Maps





108. Armenia under Seljuk Domination, Eleventh–Twelfth Centuries



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